SOME LETTERS

Containing an

ACCOUNT

Of what seemed most Remarkable in *Switzerland*, *Italy*, &c.

Written by

G. *BURNET*, D. D. to T. H. R. B.

To which is annexed his Answer to Mr. *Varillas*.

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THE FIRST LETTER.

Zurich, the first of *September*, 1685.

SIR,

IT is so common to write Travels, that for one who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a Ramble, and concerning places so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that Travel, and having joined to those a Curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to the Prints; for as you know that I have no great inclination to copie what others have said, so a Traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an Employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream Poverty,

shewed themselves both in the Building, the Clothes, and almost in the Looks of the Inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible Effect of the Hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a height for a Prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the Jesuits Colledge and Library, of the famous Nunnery of S. *Peter*, of the Churches, particularly S. *Irenee's*, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old Mosaick in the Abbey *Dene*. In short, Mr. *Spon* has given such an Account of the Curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous Attempt to offer to come after him.

The Speech of *Claudius* ingraven on a Plate of Brass, and set in the end of the low Walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of Silver of 22 pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair Captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant, the embossing of it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an Inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and

and *Epitaphium hunc*, there are 23. Inſcriptions in the Garden of the *Fathers of mercy*, but ſo placed as it ſhews how little thoſe who poſſeſs them do either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only give you one, becauſe I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, becauſe none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The Inſcription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae AEternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia piafuit, facta eſt impia: & Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Caliſtio Conjux & Pater, & ſibi vivo ponendum curavit & ſub aſcia dedicavit.* This muſt be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the falſe Latine in *Nimia*: But the Inſcription ſeems ſo extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-ſtone for his Wife and Son, and under which himſelf was to be laid, with Ceremonies of Religion, ſhould tax his Wife of impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an account of her becoming ſo throw an exceſs of piety, that it deſerves ſome conſideration.

It ſeems the impiety was publick, otherwiſe a Husband would not have recorded it in ſuch a manner, and it is plain that he thought it roſe from an exceſs of piety.

I need not examine the Conjectures of others, but will chuſe rather to give you my own, and ſubmit it to your cenſure.

It ſeems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Chriſtian, for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their ſacred Rites, were accuſed both of Atheiſm and Impiety. This is ſo

often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cerealius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the Inscription: But by it he gives a honourable Character of the Christian Doctrine at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of Piety his Wife was carried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of Piety could not avoid the falling under a distaste of Paganisme, and the becoming Christian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the Learned Mr. *Chorier* has some Manuscripts of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the chapter of the fise of the Souldiers he begins: *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*: *a* is in no *MS.* and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read *M.* and *C.* which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule*; so the true reading of that passage is: *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam.* He shewed me another *M.S.* of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which S. *John*'s Revelation is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that come *Esop*'s Fables, likewise all designed in Figures, from which he inferred that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landſchape of the *Country*, which deſerves a bet
terPencil than mine, and in which theheight, and
rudeneſs of the Mountains that almoſt ſhut upon
it, together with the beauty, the evenneſs and
fruitfulneſs of the Valley, that is all along wel
watered with the River of *Liſerre*, make ſuch an
agreable mixture, that this vaſt diverſity of Ob-
jects that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very
entertaining Proſpect.

Chambery, has nothing in it that deſerves a
long Deſcription, and *Geneva* is too well known
to be much inſiſted on. It is a little State, but it has
ſo many good *Conſtitutions* in it, that the greateſt
may juſtly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn
has always too years Proviſion for the City in
ſtore, and forces none but the Bakers to buy of
it at a taxed price, and ſo it is both neceſſary for
any Extremities, under which the State may fall,
and is likewiſe of great Advantage, for it gives
a good yearly Income, that has helpt the State to
pay near a Million of Debt contracted during
the Wars, and the Citizens are not oppreſs'd by
it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as
he pleaſes, only *Publick Houſes* muſt buy from the
Chamber. And if one will compare the Faith
of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular,
he will be forced to prefer the latter, for if
Good Works are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure
indication of a *Good Faith*, then Juſtice, being a
Good Work of the firſt Form, *Geneva* will cer-
tainly carry it.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the
Patrimony, for none of the Landlords can ſell it
either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at 5
Crowns

crowns their Measure, and even that is slowly and ill payed, so that there was 800000 Crowns owing upon that score when I was at *Rome*. In telling this out, the Measure is *lessened* a fifth part, and the Price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought in at five Crowns, is sold out at twelve: and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the Chamber discounts to them only the first price of five Crowns: whereas in *Geneva* the Measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-Price, so that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the *Merchant* to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this small Commonwealth are so well imployed, *that there is no cause* of Complaint given in the administration of the Publick Purse: which with the Advantages that arise out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000. Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300 Souldiers are payed, an *Arsenal* is maintained, that, in proportion to the *State*, is the greatest in the world, for it contains Arms for more men than are in the *State*: There is a great number of Ministers and Professers (in all 24) payed out of it, besides all the *Publick Charges* and Offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of 25. having a 100 Crowns, and every Syndic having 200 Crowns Pension: and after all this come the Accidental Charges of the

Deputies

Deputies, that they are obliged to ſend often to *Paris*, to *Savoy*, and to *Switzerland*, ſo that it is very apparent no man can Enrich himſelf at the Coſt of the Publick. And the Appointments of the little Council are a very ſmall Recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4 or 5 hours a day. The ſalary for the Profeſſors and Miniſters is indeed ſmall, not above 200 Crowns, but to ballance this, which was a more *Competent Proviſion* when it was firſt ſet off 150 years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned, thoſe Employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richeſt Citizens in the town breed up their *Children* ſo as to qualifie them for thoſe Places. And a Miniſter that is ſuteable to his Character is thought ſo good a match, that generally they have ſuch Eſtates either by ſucceſſion or marriage as ſupport them ſuitably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is ſo great a Regulation upon Expences of all ſorts, that a ſmall ſum goes a great way. It is a ſurpriſing thing to ſee ſo much learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the Magiſtrates and Citizens, and if there are not many of the *firſt form of Learning* among them, yet every body almoſt here has a good *tincture* of a *Learned Education*, inſomuch that they are Maſters of the Latin, they know the Controverſies of Religion and Hiſtory, and they are generally men of good ſenſe.

There is an univerſal Civilitie, not only towards ſtrangers, but towards one another, that

reigns all the Town over, and leans to an exces
ſo that in them one ſees a mixture of a *French* o
penneſs, and an *Italian* exactneſs: there is indee
a little too much of the laſt.

The publick Juſtice of the City is quick and
good; and is more commended than the private
Juſtice of thoſe that deal in Trade: a want of ſin
cerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the
Town well. There is no publick leudneſs tolle
rated, and the diſorders of that ſort are managed
with great addreſs. And notwithſtanding their
neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very
little known among them. One of the beſt parts
of their Law is the way of ſelling Eſtates, which
is likewiſe practiſed in *Switzerland*, and is called
Subhaſtation, from the *Roman Cuſtom* of ſelling
Sub haſta. A man that is to buy an Eſtate agrees
with the Owner, and then intimates it to the
Government; who order *Three ſeveral Proclama-
tions* to be made *ſix weeks* one after another, of *the
intended Sale*, that is to be on ſuch a day: when
the day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they
apprehend that the Eſtate is ſold at an under-va-
lue, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not
interpoſe, the Buyer delivers the mony to the
State, which upon that gives him his Title to the
Eſtate, which can never be ſo much as brought
under *a debate in Law*, and the price is paid in to
the State, and is by them given either to the De-
bitors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the
Seller himſelf.

This Cuſtom prevails likewiſe in *Swiſſe*,
where alſo twelve years poſſeſſion gives a Pre-
ſcription, ſo that in no place of the world are
the

the titles to Estates so secure as here. The Constitution of the Government is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the Cantons. The Soverainty lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its number 25. who are the lesser Council; and the Censure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are chosen by a sort of Ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their Votes, which is an effectual method to suppress Factions and Resentments; since in a Competition no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the *Election* is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicat, which is the Chief Honour of the State: this Dignity is courted here, with as active and sollicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25. so that these two Councils, which are but for life, are checks one upon another. The Magistracy is in the one, and the Soverainty in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the lesser Council, but for the greater, tho' it passes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of 60. consisting of those of the 200. that have born Offices such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or those that have been in other Employments, which are given for a determinate nnmber of years: This Court has no Authority, but is called together by th

the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more General Concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State that only gives advice, but has no power in it self to enforce its advices. The whole Body of the Burgesses chuse the Sindics the first Sunday of the year, and there are some other Elections that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the Burgesses and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the Son of a Burgess, and that is born within the Town.

I need say no more of the Constitution of this little Republick, its chief support is in the firm *alliance* that has stood now so long between it and the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is so visibly the interest of all *Switzerland* to preserve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Interest so palpably in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Counté*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be toucht: for all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can signifie no more, but to put it in case to resist a surprise or scalade: since if a *Royal Army* comes against it to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raise the Siege, those within will be able to make a very short Resistance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Country of *Vaud* or the Valley, and *Lausanne* its chief Town

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in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lawſanne* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is ascent and deſcent, & that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South-wall of the Croſs was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide: Which was ſo cloſed up ten years after by another Earthquake, that now one only ſees where the breach was. This extravagant ſituation of the Town was occaſion'd by a Legend of ſome Miracles wrought near the Church: which prevailed ſo much of the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and ſo in conſequence the Buildings near it were added to the old Town, which ſtood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the high-way from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the Chief Priviledges of the Town, particularly the *Judicature* of *life* & *death* do ſtill belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake which at the one end is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lauſanne*. I need not mention the dimenſions of it which are ſo well known, only in ſome places the depth has ne're been found, for it is more than 500 fathom, the banks of the Lake are the beautifulleſt plots of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid by Art, the ſloping is ſo eaſie and ſo equal, and the grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful proſpect cannot be ſeen any where: the Lake is well ſtockt with excellent Fiſh: But their numbers do ſenſibly decreaſe, and one ſort is quite loſt, it is not only to be aſcrib'd to the ravenouſneſs of the

Pikes

Pikes that abound in it: but to another ſort of Fiſh that they call *Moutails* which were never taken in the Lake till within theſe ſix years laſt paſt, they are in the Lake of *Neuf-chaſtel*, and ſome of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by ſome conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake: The Water of the Lake is all clear and freſh. It is not only a great Pond made by the *Rhoſne* that runs into it, but does not paſs through it unmixt as ſome *Travellers* have fondly imagined, becauſe ſometimes a ſoft gale makes a *curling* of the Waters in ſome places, which runs *ſmooth* in the places over which that ſoft breath of Wind does not paſs, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are alſo many great *Fountains* all over the Lake, theſe Springs do very probably flow from ſome vaſt Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Ciſterns that diſcharge themſelves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two ſides of the *Alpes* both North and South, there is ſo great a number of thoſe *little Seas*, that it may be eaſily gueſſed they muſt have *vaſt Sources* that feed ſo conſtantly thoſe *Huge Ponds*. And when one conſiders the *height* of thoſe Hills, the *chain* of ſo many of them together, & their *extent* both in length and breadth; If at firſt he *thinks* of the old Fables of *laying one Hill upon the top of another*, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that traveſled over them oftner than once, *That theſe cannot be the primary Productions of the Author of Nature: But are the vaſt Ruines of the firſt World*

World, which at the Deluge broke here into many inequalities.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudi* or Curſed, of which one third is always cover with *Snow*, is 2 *Miles* of perpendicular height, a cording to the Obſervation of that incompar ble *Mathematician* and *Philoſopher*, *Nicolas Fa Duilier*, who at 22 years of age is already one the greateſt men of his Age, and ſeems to be bor to carry Learning ſome *Siſes* beyond what it ha yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with th *State* of *Bern*, for that *Canton* alone is above a 3 part of all *Switzerland*. I will ſay nothing of its *Beginning* nor *Hiſtory*: nor will I inlarge upon the *Conſtitutions* which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200 that goes by that *Name*, tho it conſiſts almoſt of 300, and another of 25 as *Geneva*. The chief *Magiſtrates* are *two Advoyers*, who are not *annual* as the *Sindics* of *Geneva*, but are for *life*; and have an Authority not unlike that of the *Roman Conſuls*: each being his year by turns *the Advoyer in Office*. After them there are the 4 Bannerets, who anſwer to the *Tribunes of the People* in *Rome*; then come the two Burſars or Treaſurers, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the Countrey of *Vaud*, and the two laſt choſen of the 25 are called *The Secrets*; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are diſcovered: and they have an Authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the Magiſtracy, the Advoyers themſelves not excepted, as they ſee cauſe: tho this falls out ſeldom.

There are 72 *Bailiages* into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided, & in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200, who must be a Citizen of *Bern* and one of the 200, to which Council no man can be chosen till he is married: these *Bailiages* are Employments both of Honor and Profit: for the Bailif is the Governour and Judge in that Jurisdiction: since tho he has some Assessors who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their Opinions, & the Bailifs have all the *Confiscation* &, *Fines* so that drinking being so common in that Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailif makes his advantage of all those disorders: and in the 6 years of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to *Bern*: on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: for one is capable of being twice Bailif, but tho some have been thrice Bailifs, this is very extraordinary. The exactions of the Bailif are the only Impositions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are subjected, and these falling only on the Irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this Grievance tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Canton are, as in *England*, Lords of Castles or Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates, and name their Magistrate who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailif, but beyond the value of two Pistols

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an Appeal lies, and no ſentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies alſo an Appeal from the Bailif to the Coun cil at *Bern*. There are many *Complaints* of the Injuſtice of the Bailifs: but their Law is ſhort and clear, ſo that a ſuit is ſoon ended, two or three Hearings is the moſt that even an *intricate* ſuit amounts to, either in the firſt inſtance before the Bailif, or in the ſecond Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* conſider theſe Bailiages as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue as was ever uſed among the *Romans* in the diſtribution of their Provinces: and ſo little ſignifie the beſt Regulations, when there are intrinſick Diſeaſes in a State, that tho there is all poſſible precaution uſed in the nomination of theſe Bailifs, yet that has not preſerved this State from falling under ſo great a miſchief by thoſe little Provinces; that as it has already in a great meaſure corrupted their Morals, ſo it may likely turn in concluſion to the ruine of this Republick: all the *Electors* give their Voices by *Ballot*, ſo that they are free from all *After-game* in the nomination of the Perſon: all the Kindred of the *Pretenders*, even to the remoteſt degrees, are excluded from Voting, as are alſo all their Creditors, ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no Intereſt in the Iſſue of the Competition; and yet there is ſo much Intrigue, and ſo great a Corruption in the diſtribution of theſe Imployments, that the whole Buſineſs in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the beſt Baiiages, on which a Family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the Counſellors

lors of *Bern* give a very ſmall; ſhare of their Eſtates to their *Children* when they marry them: all that they propoſe is to make a Bailliage ſure to them: for this they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make ſure a ſufficient number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the Bannerets that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailif is choſen, he takes all poſſible methods to make the beſt of it he can, and lets few Crimes paſs, that carry either Confiſcations or Fines after them; his Juſtice alſo is generally ſuſpected. It is true, thoſe of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppreſſed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been ſevere *Judgments* againſt ſome more exorbitant Bailifs; yet as Complaints are not made except upon great occaſions, which are not often given by the Bailifs, ſo it being the general Intereſt of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all poſſible Advantages of thoſe Imployments, the Cenſure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is neceſſary for the ſupport of the Town. They maintain Profeſſors in the Univerſities of *Bern* and *Lauſanne*, the one for the *German* Territory, which is the ancient Canton; and the other for the new Conqueſt, which is the *French*. In the former there are about 300 Pariſhes, in the other there are but about 150: But in the Benefices of the *German* ſide the *ancient Right* of the *Incumbents* are generally preſerved, ſo that ſome Benefices are worth 1000 Crowns. Whereas in the *Païs de Vaud* the Proviſions are ſo

ſet off as Salaries, and are generally from 100 to 200 Crowns. It is viſible that thoſe of *Bern* truſt more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the ſtrength of their Walls; for as they have never finiſhed them, ſo what is built cannot be brought to a regular Fortification, and it is not preſerved with any care, nor furniſhed with *Cannon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good ſtore in their *Arſenal*, in which they ſay there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The Peaſants are generally rich, chiefly in the *German* ſide, and are all well armed, they pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Cultivation, in which ſome ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhewed ſome that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of Eſtate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a Peaſant is no extraordinary matter; they live much on their Milk and Corn, which in ſome places, as about *Payern*, yields an encreaſe of 15 meaſures after one, they breed many Horſes, which brings them in a great deal of money. The worſt thing in the Countrey is the moiſture of the Air, which is not only occaſioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the Neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, ſome all the Summer long, and the reſt till Midſummer: But by the vaſt quantity of Woods of Fir-trees, which ſeem to fill very near the half of their ſoil, and if theſe were for the moſt part rooted out, as they would have much more ſoil, ſo their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fewel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal

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in some places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers, it can be easily carried over the Countrey, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some Fountains of Salt-water, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally sincere but heavy, they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal Entertainments, and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generaly imploy'd in their domestick affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchin, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and women do not converse promiscuously together, and the women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Phisitian there told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere, whereas he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I saw an instance while I

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was in *Bern*: For a Woman who confeſſed her ſelf guilty of many Whoredoms, and deſigned to be revenged on ſome Men, that did not furniſh her liberally with Money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was ſolemn, for the Advoyer came into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, the whole Proceſs was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councellors both of the Great and Leſſer Council ſtanding about the Advoyer, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul, and after Execution there was a Sermon for the inſtruction of the people.

The whole State is diſpoſed for war, for every man that can bear Arms is liſted, and knows his poſt and arms; and there are Beacons ſo laid over the Country, that the ſignal can run over the whole Canton in a night: And their Military Liſts are ſo laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the Firſt or Second, or not till the General Summons. They aſſured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great hardſhip and of good Diſcipline, and have generally an extream ſenſe of Liberty, and a great love to their Countrey; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor, they can well reſiſt a ſudden Invaſion of their Countrey; but they would ſoon grow weary of a long War, and the ſoil requires ſo much cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their la-

bour the Men that would be neceſſary to preſerve their Countrey: they were indeed as happy as a People could be, when the Emperour had *Alſace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reaſon to fear their Neighbours; but now that both theſe Provinces are in the hands of the *French*, the caſe is quite altered; for as *Baſil* is every moment in danger from the Garriſon of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon-ſhot diſtant from it, ſo all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified Places, nor good Paſſes to ſecure it, ſo that their Error in ſuffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was ſo groſs, that I took ſome pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this Account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Poſt, ſo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invaſion of *France* ought to be made on that ſide, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified: this he repeated often, and it was known in *France*; ſo that the King reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Comté*, but uſed that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a Neutrality on that Side: but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the Intereſt of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preſerve the *Comté* in their hands, refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and ſeemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while the *French* Money went about very liberally at *Bern*, and af-

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ter thoſe who were moſt likely to make oppoſition were gained, the *French* Miniſter propoſed to them the neceſſity in which his Maſter found himſelf engaged to ſecure himſelf on that ſide; but that ſtill he would grant a Neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this all the Aſſurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary all poſſible protection. There was juſt cauſe given by the *Spaniards* to conſider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable Force to preſerve the *Comté*, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give way to the *French* Propoſition; but one propoſed that which an unbiaſſed Aſſembly would certainly have accepted, That they ſhould go themſelves and take the *Comté*, and by ſo doing they would ſecure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfie the *Spaniards*, and reimburſe themſelves of the Expence of the Invaſion, by reſtoring the *Comté* to them, when a General Peace ſhould be made. He laid out the Miſery to which their Country muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a Neighbour; but all was loſt labour: ſo he went out in a rage, and publiſhed through the Town, that the State was ſold, and all was loſt. They now ſee their errour too late, and would repair it, if it were poſſible,

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but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do so prey upon the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in condition to do much: for in many of their Bailiages, of which some are Abbeys, the Bailifs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewise on the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the Publick Revenue, of which they are the Receivers, for their reimbursement; which made Mr. *d'Erlack* once say, when one of those Accounts was presented, that it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the power of their Bannerets is so great, that one would think they might redress many abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blacksmiths, and every Citizen of *Bern* does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call Abbeys, for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a Religious Fraternity: every one of these chuses two Bannerets, who bear Office by turns, from 4 years, to 4 years, and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the several Abbeys, as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*: and the Advoyers carry still their Name from the ancient Titles *Ecdicus* or *Advocate*, that was the Title of the Chief Magistrates of the Towns in the times of

of the Roman Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office, has a vaſt Power, they examine and paſs all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices, ſo that no man can be propoſed to the Council of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have ſo abſolute an Authority in ſhutting men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for life, is no leſs conſiderable than that of the Advoyer, tho they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great addreſs, of which this Inſtance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyerſhip not long ago, there was one whoſe temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe who were qualified to Vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred, or Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitour, whom they favoured, ſo they ſet up a third Competitour, whoſe Kindred were the Perſons that were made ſure to him, whoſe advancement they oppoſed, and by this means they were all ſhut out from Voting, ſo that the Election went according to the deſign of the Bannerets. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. *d'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d'Erlack* who was Governour of *Briſack*, & had a Brevet to be a Mariſhal of *France*; this is one of the nobleſt Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Tyranny, and they have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſhed there from all the reſt of their

Nobility; The preſent Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authority in his Canton, not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular Eſteem which is payed him: For he is thought the Wiſeſt and Worthieſt Man of the State; tho it is ſomewhat ſtrange how he ſhould bear ſuch a Sway in ſuch a Government, for he neither Feaſts nor Drinks with the reſt. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reſerved, and behaves himſelf liker a Miniſter of State in a Monarchy, than a Magiſtrate in a Popular Government: For one ſees in him none of thoſe Arts, that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a Government. He has a great Eſtate and no Children, ſo he has no Projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuſes of the State, tho the diſeaſe is inveterate and ſeems paſt cure.

He had a Misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popiſh* and the *Proteſtant* Cantons, the occaſion of which will ingage me in a ſhort Digreſſion. The Peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preſerved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general League. Now the *Popiſh* Cantons have made Laws, that it ſhall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a ſet day every year they go all to Maſs, and the Maſters of Families ſwear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their lives end, and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into Hereſie with death and

and confiſcation of goods, becauſe it is a violation of the Faith, which is ſo ſolemnly ſworn. But on the other hand, in the *Proteſtant* Cantons ſuch as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Eſtates they ſtill preſerve them, and are permitted to ſell them. One cannot but obſerve more of the Merciful Spirit of the Goſpel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons *Appenzel* and *Glaris* both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in ſome Bailiages that were conqueſted in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailifs by turns, and both Religions are ſo equally tollerated, that in the ſame Church they have both Maſs and Sermon, ſo equally, that on one Sunday the Maſs begins and the Sermon follows, and the next Sunday the Sermon begins and the Maſs comes next, without the leaſt diſorder or murmuring.

But in year 1656, ſome of the Canton of *Schwitz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Eſtates were Confiſcated, and ſome others that had alſo changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Eſtates of the Refugies, but inſtead of granting this, the Canton of *Schwitz* demanded back their Subjects that they might proceed againſt them as Delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demauded by the

Canton to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both Inhuman and Unchristian, tho the Deputy of *Basil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreamly disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some Insolences upon the Subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give Satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the Protestant and Popish Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. *d'Erlack*, but was dispersed in several Bodies: And the Papists had not above 6000, yet they surprised Mr. *d'Erlack* with a Body not much superior to theirs, both sides after a short engagement run, the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern*, seeing that none stayed to defend the Cannon, carried them off; this Loss raised such a Tumult in *Bern* that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack*; but he came with such a Presence of Mind, and gave so satisfying an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the Papists acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some Quarrels like to arise in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was said that the equal Priviledges agreed on to both Religions were not preserved, but on this

this occaſion the Popes *Nuntio* acted a very different part, from that which might have been expected from him: For whereas the Miniſters of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the Diſputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was viſible that the injuſtice lay on the ſide of the Papiſts, he interpoſed ſo effectually with thoſe of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popiſh Cantons, that the Difference was compoſed.

But to return to *Bern*, the Buildings have neither great Magnificence nor many Apartments, but they are Convenient, and ſuted to the way of living in that Countrey. The Streets, not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the ſmalleſt Villages, are furniſhed with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great uſe, ſo they want not their Beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town ſtands, it ſeems the ground began to fail, ſo to ſupport it they have raiſed a vaſt Fabrick, which has coſt more than the Church it ſelf; for there is a Platform made, which is a Square, to which the Church is one ſide, and the further ſide is a vaſt Wall, fortified with Buttreſſes about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults; this Platform is the chief Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun ſet; and the River underneath preſents a very Beautiful Proſpect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the

Mills, but all along as this Cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a ſloping bank of Stone, which they ſay, was made at a vaſt charge, and makes a noble and large Caſcade.

The ſecond Church is the *Dominican's* Chappel, where I ſaw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to ſet down that Story at ſome length: For as it was one of the moſt ſignal cheats, that the World has known: ſo it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, becauſe I read the Original proceſs in the Latine Record, ſigned by the Notaries of the Court of the *Delegates* that the Pope ſent to try the matter. The Record is above 130 ſheets writ cloſe and of all ſides, it being indeed a large Volume, and I found the Printed accounts ſo defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole proceſs, of which I will give here a true abſtract.

The two famous Orders that had poſſeſſed themſelves of the eſteem of thoſe dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more Learned, they were the eminenteſt Preachers of thoſe times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquiſition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the *Franciſcans* had an outward appearance of more ſeverity, a ruder habit, ſtricter rules, and greater

ter poverty: all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican* Order. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas*'s Opinions, were thereby obliged to assert that she was born in Original Sin; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less then blasphemy, and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the Immaculate Conception.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciscan* happened to Preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that profained the Virgin, or that poysoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperour *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Wimpfen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Or-

der; which was much ſunk in the opinion of the People, and for bearing down the Reputation of the *Franciſcans*. Four of the Junto undertook to manage the deſign; for they ſaid ſince the People were ſo much diſpoſed to believe Dreams and Fables they muſt dream of their ſide, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as the others had done. They reſolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project ſhould be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern* at that time apt to ſwallow any thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere Enquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their Deſign, a Fit Tool preſented it ſelf, for one *Fetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the execution of their Project: For he was extream ſimple, and was much inclined to Auſterities, ſo having obſerved his Temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the Habit, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. One of the Friars conveyed himſelf ſecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a ſtrange Figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew Fire ſeemed to come out of his mouth. He had alſo ſome Dogs about him that appeared as his Tormentors, in this poſture he came near the Friar while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they uſed to tell all their Friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aſide their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was

was Superior of their Houſe at *Soloturn* had gone to *Paris*, but laying aſide his Habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Friar in the Vizar ſaid, he was that Perſon, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime; but he added that he might be reſcued out of it by his means, and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible Cries expreſſing the miſeries which he ſuffered. The poor Friar *Jetzer* was exceſſively frighted, but the other advanced and required a promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frighted Friar promiſed all that he asked of him, then the other ſaid he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail, but they muſt be very extraordinary. The whole Monaſtery muſt for a Week together diſcipline themſelves with a Whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the form of one on a Croſs in one of their Chappels, while Maſs was ſaid in the ſight of all that ſhould come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he ſhould find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and ſaid he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and aſſured him that all that he did ſuffer for his deliverance ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come than that the Friar gave an account of this Apparition to the reſt of the Convent, who ſeemed extreamly ſurpriſed at it, they all preſſed him to undergo the Diſci-

pline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his ſhare, ſo the deluded Friar performed it all exactly in one of the Chappels of their Church: This drew a vaſt number of Spectators together, who all conſidered the poor Friar as a Saint, and in the mean while, the four Friars that managed the Impoſture magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Friars Confeſſor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little paſſages of the poor Friars Life, even to his Thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confeſſor gave him an *Hoſtie*, with a piece of Wood that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the Croſs, and by theſe, he was to fortifie himſelf, if any other Apparitions ſhould come to him, ſince evil Spirits would certainly be chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the Maſqued Friar brought two others with him in ſuch Vizards, that the Friar thought they were Devils indeed. The Friar preſented the *Hoſtie* to them, which gave them ſuch a Check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the Vertue of this preſervative.

The Friar that pretended he was ſuffering in *Purgatory*, ſaid ſo many things to him relating to the ſecrets of his Life, and Thoughts, which he had from the Confeſſor; that the poor Friar was fully poſſeſſed in the Opinion of the reality of the Apparition. In two of theſe Apparitions, that were both managed in the ſame manner, the Friar in the Maſque talked

talked much of the *Dominican* Order, which he ſaid was exceſſively dear to the B. Virgin, who knew her ſelf to be conceived in Original ſin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of St. *Bernards* appearing with a ſpot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the Feaſt of the Conception, was a Forgerie: but that it was true that ſome hideous Flies had appeared on St. *Bonaventure*'s Tomb, who taught the contrary, that the *B.* Virgin abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son, that *Scotus* was damned, whoſe Canoniſation the *Cordeliers* were then ſoliciting hard at *Rome*, and that the Town of *Bern* would be deſtroyed for harbouring ſuch Plagues within their Walls. When the injoined Diſcipline was fully perforned, the Spirit appeared again, and ſaid he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he muſt receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and that he would ſay Maſs for thoſe, who had by their great Charities reſcued him out of his Pains. The Friar fancied the Voice reſembled the *Priors* a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this ſuſpicion. Some days after this, the ſame Friar appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Fryar that ſhe was St. *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the B. Virgin was ſo much pleaſed with his Charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him: He immediately called the

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Convent together, and gave the reſt of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Friar languiſhed in deſires for the accompliſhment of the Promiſe that St. *Barbara* had made him. After ſome days the longed for Deluſion appeared to him, cloathed as the Virgin uſed to be on the great Feaſts, and indeed in the ſame Habits: there were about her ſome Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels which they ſet on the Altars, on the great Holy Days. There was alſo a Pulley faſtned in the Room over his head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them riſe up in the Air, and flie about the Virgin, which increaſed the deluſion. The Virgin, after ſome Endearments to himſelf, extolling the merit of his Charity and Diſcipline, told him that ſhe was conceived in Original Sin, and that Pope *Julius* the ſecond, that then reigned, was to put an end to the Diſpute, and was to aboliſh the Feaſt of her Conception, which *Sixtus* the Fourth had inſtituted, and that the Friar was to be the Inſtrument of perſwading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Sons blood, which were three Tears of blood that he had ſhed over *Jeruſalem*, and this ſignified that ſhe was three hours in Original Sin, after which ſhe was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it ſeems the *Dominicans* were reſolved ſo to compound the matter, that they ſhould gain the main point of her Conception in ſin, yet they would

would comply so far with the Reverence so the Virgin, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were Tears of Blood that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an Hostie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed Visits was often repeated to the abused Friar, at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five Wounds of St. *Lucia* and S. *Catherine* were real Wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a Favour in which he was to suffer so much; but she forced his hand and struck a Nail thro' it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro' it, this threw him out of a supposed Transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an Ointment, with which she anointed him, tho' his Confessor perswaded him that that was only an Imagination; so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some Linnen Clothes, which had some real or Imaginary Vertue to allay his Torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the Linnen in which Christ was wrap-

rapped, and with that ſhe gave him a Sopo-iferous Draught, and while he was faſt a eep, the other four Wounds were imprinted n his Body in ſuch a manner that he felt no ain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars etook themſelves to Charms, and the Subprior hewed the reſt a Book full of them, but he aid, that before they could be effectual they nuſt renounce God; and he not only did this imſelf, but by a formal Act put in Writing igned with his Blood, he dedicated himſelf to he Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the reſt o this, but only to renounce God. The compoſi-tion of the Draught was a mixtuae of ſome Fountain-water and Chriſm, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, ſome Quickſilver, ſome Grains of Incenſe, ſomewhat of an *Eaſter* Wax-Candle, ſome conſecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptiſed Child. This Compo-ſition was a Secret, which the Subprior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Friar *Jetzer* was made almoſt quite inſenſible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep ſleep, he felt this Won-derful Impreſſion on his Body, and now he was raviſhed out of meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the parts of our Saviour's Paſſion; he was expoſed to the People on the great Altar, to the amaſement of the whole Town, and to the no ſmall mortifica-tion of the *Franſciſcans*. The *Dominicans* gave him ſome other Draughts that threw him into Convulſions, and when he came out of thoſe a

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Voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the Wall of the Church; for a Friar ſpoke thro' a Pipe, and at the end of the Hole, there was an Image of the Virgin, with a little Jeſus in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice ſeemed to come, the Image alſo ſeemed to ſhed Tears, and a Painter had drawn thoſe on her Face ſo lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little Jeſus askt why ſhe wept, and ſhe ſaid it was becauſe his Honour was given to her, ſince it was ſaid, that ſhe was born without Sin; in Concluſion the Friars did ſo overact this matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded Friar himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well nigh killed a Friar that came to him perſonating the Virgin in another ſhape with a Crown on her Head: He alſo over-heard the Friars once talking amongſt themſelves of the Contrivance and Succeſs of the Impoſture, ſo plainly, that he diſcovered the whole Matter; and upon that, as may be eaſily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which ſuch a diſcovery could inſpire him.

The Friars fearing that an Impoſture which was carred on hitherto with ſo much ſucceſs, ſhould be quite ſpoiled, and be turned againſt them, thought the ſureſt way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him

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in which eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the Reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the Chief Perſon of the Order, and in the end they perſuaded him to go on with the Impoſture: but at laſt they, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover all, reſolved to poyſon him: of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with ſome Spices, he kept it for ſome time, and it growing green he threw it to ſome young Wolves whelps that were in the *Monaſtery*, who died immedatly. His Conſtitution was alſo ſo vigorous, that tho they gave him Poyſon five ſeveral times he was not deſtroyed by it. They alſo preſt him earneſtly to renounce God, which they judged neceſſary, that ſo their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never conſent to that, at laſt they forced him to take a poiſoned Hoſty, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it down; that failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that, to avoid further torment, he ſwore to them in a moſt imprecating ſtile, that he would never diſcover the Secret; but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himſelf into the hands of the Magiſtrates, to whom he diſcovered all.

The four Friars were ſeiſed on, and put in Priſon, and an account of the whole Matter was ſent, firſt to the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and

and then to *Rome*, and it may be eaſily imagined that the *Franciſcans* took all poſſible care to have it well examined, the Biſhops of *Lauſanne* and of *Zyon*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Proceſs. The four Friars firſt excepted to *Jetzer's* Credit; but that was rejected, then being threatned with the Queſtion they put in a long Plea againſt that; but tho the Provincial would not conſent to that; yet they were put to the Queſtion, ſome endured it long, but at laſt they all confeſſed the whole progreſs of the Impoſture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Jetzer* had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him, on the contrary he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friars ſaid plainly, that he was on the whole Secret, and ſo he withdrew, but he died ſome days after at *Conſtance*, having poyſoned himſelf as was believed. The Matter lay aſleep ſome time, but a year after that a *Spaniſh* Biſhop came, authoriſed with full Powers from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were ſolemnly degraded from their Prieſthood, and Eight days after, it being the laſt of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other ſide of the River over againſt the great Church; the place of their Execution was ſhewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackeſt, and yet the beſt Carried on Cheat, that has been

been ever known, and no doubt had the poor Friar died before the diſcovery, it had paſſed down to poſterity as one of the greateſt Miracles that ever was, and it gives a ſhrewd ſuſpition that many of the other Miracles of that Church were of the ſame nature, but more ſucceſsfully finiſhed.

I ſhall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern*, but ſhall only add one general remark,* which was too viſible not to be obſerved every where, and of too great importance not to deſerve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, becauſe I had more occaſion to make it in *Bern*, having ſeen it more, and ſtaid longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furniſhed with all the Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life than it is, and yet *Italy* is almoſt quite diſpeopled, and the People in it are reduced to a miſery that can ſcarce be imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen it; and *France* is in a great meaſure diſpeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can ſhew it ſelf, both in their Houſes, Furniture, Cloaths and Looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in every place in the Villages, as well as in their Towns one ſees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houſes and windows are in good caſe, the High-

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ways are well maintained, all People are well Cloathed, and every one lives at his eaſe. This Obſervation ſurpriſed me yet more in the Countrey of the *Griſons*, who have almoſt no Soil at all, being ſituated in Valleys that are almoſt all waſhed away with the torrents that fall down from the Hills, and ſwell their Brooks ſometimes ſo violently and ſo ſuddenly, that in many places the whole Soil is waſhed away, and yet thoſe Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at eaſe, under a gentle Government, whilſt other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to ſuch miſery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, ſo thoſe who ſtay behind can ſcarce live and pay thoſe grievous Impoſitions that are laid upon them, the rude People generally reaſon very ſimply when they enter into ſpeculations of Government, but they feel true, tho they argue falſe, ſo an eaſie Government tho joyn'd to an ill Soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at leaſt keeps People in it, whereas a ſevere Government, tho in general Ideas it may appear reaſonable, drives its ſubjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable Seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I paſſed by *Soloturn*, as I came through *Fribourg* in my way from *Lauſanne* to *Bern*, theſe are two of the chief of the Popiſh Cantons, after *Lucerne*, and one ſees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*; long before they come within the Church Doors they kneel down in the Streets when

when Maſs is a ſaying in it. The Images are alſo extream groſs. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an Old Man with a great black Beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigion over his head. Here alſo begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary-Bel* which is ſcarce known in *France*, but is practiſed all *Italy* over: At noon and at Sun ſet the Bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary*, and a ſhort Prayer to the Virgin; but whereas in *Italy* they content themſelves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the moſt part kneel down in the Streets, which I ſaw no where practiſed in *Italy*, except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithſtanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* ſee their common intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good underſtand-in one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in moſt of the other Popiſh Cantons: the Reſidence of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour and of the Nuntio in that Town, contributes alſo much to the preſerving it in ſo good a temper, it being their intereſt to unite *Switzerland*, and by thir means the heat and indiſcretion of the reſt is often moderated: The Jeſuits begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elſewhere: they have a noble Colledge and Chappel ſituated in the beſt place of *Friburg*. It is not long ſince they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a Revenue of 1000 Livres a year, ſet off for the main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this Proviſion that they ſhould never exceed that Number; but where they are once ſetled, they find means to break through all Limitations, and they are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a Church and Colledge, which will coſt before it is finiſhed above 400000 Livres to which the *French* King gives 100000 Livres for the Frontis-piece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambaſſadour reſides, he thought it ſutable to his Glory to have a Monument of his Bounty raiſed by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they find their Account in it.

In the ſame Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 Livres of Revenue, there is alſo a very rich Houſe of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that as I was told had 60000 Livres of Revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 Livres a piece, may live in all poſſible Plenty, in a Countrey where a very little Money goes a great way: But that which ſurprizes one moſt at *Soloturn*, is the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any where to be ſeen, the Stone with which it is faced is a ſort of courſe Marble, but of that bigneſs, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickneſs: But tho this will be a Work of vaſt expence and great beauty, yet it would ſignifie little againſt a great Army that would attack it vigorouſly. The Wall is finiſhed on the ſide of the River on which the Town ſtands,

ſtands, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterſcarp and Glaſier are alſo finiſhed, and they are a working at a Fort on the other ſide of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two Millions of Livres, and this vaſt Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain that a Fortification that is able to reſiſt the Rage of their *Peaſants* in the caſe of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers as *Bern*, the little Council conſiſts of 36, they have 12 Bailiages belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them, they have one Burſar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have their Bailiages, but if there are diſorders at *Bern* in the choice of their Bailifs, there are far greater among the *Popiſh* Cantons, where all things are ſold, as a Foreign Miniſter that reſides there told me; who, tho he knew what my Religion was, did not ſtick to own franckly to me, that the *Catholick* Cantons were not near ſo well governed as the *Proteſtant* Cantons. Juſtice is generally ſold among them, and in their Treaties with Foreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken Money both from the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and have ſigned contradictory Articles at the ſame time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient ſituation which makes it the ſeat of the general Dyet of the Cantons, tho it is not one of them, but is a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the Ancient Can-

Cantons. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with Relation to us it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much less than *Bern*, yet the Publick is much Richer: They reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their Subjects live happy: for the Bailifs here have regulated Appointments, and have only the hundredth Penny of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to strain Matters against their Subjects, and whereas at *Bern* the constant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages, here on the contrary it is a Service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the Magistrate that is called the Advoyer at *Bern*, is here called the Bourgomaster. The Revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the Publick Purse is much Richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great Trade carried here, and as their Lake, that is 24 Miles long, and about two or three broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their River carries their Manfacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe

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the ſituation of the Town, but ſhall content my ſelf to tell you that it is extream pleaſant, the Countrey about it is Mountainous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, only in ſome places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that ſome Springs riſe there, which cauſe that heat, ſo alſo in the Lake of *Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in ſeveral parts, but theſe are never ſeen in ſome parts of the Lake, which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame Cauſe.

But to return to *Zurich*, one ſees here the true antient ſimplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity, their Women not only do not converſe familiarly with men, except thoſe of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets do not make any Returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courteſies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not ſaluted, but the Civility is expreſſed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing ſingular in the Conſtitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council conſiſts of 50 perſons, but there ſit in it only 25 at a time, and ſo the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper Bourgomaſter, have alſo the Government in their Hands by turns, and they ſhift every ſix Months, at Midſummer, and at Chriſt-maſs. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages and 21 Caſtellaneries, in the former the Bailif reſides conſtantly, but the Caſtellan, who is alſo one of the great Coun-

Council, has so little to do that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do Justice.

The Vertue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the Ancient Capitulation with the *French*, and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a Soveraign influence: But here it has never prevailed. They have converted the Ancient Revenues of the Church more generally to pious uses than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many Hospitals well entertained, in one as I was told, there was 650 Poor kept: but as they support the real Charities, which belongs to such Endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of buildings which is too generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewise still continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they subsist plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one: The first begins at five a Clock in the Morning. From *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are dayly Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation to the Mass. But the Sermons are generally too long, and

the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it, and if this were so contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less wearines and more profit, so it would be a vast advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple discourses would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter there is a vast Collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger* or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the History of the Reformation: For as *Buillinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English* Exiles in Queen *Mary's* Reign, in particular to *Sands* afterwards Arch-Bishop of *York*, to *Horn* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness, and as they presented some Silver-Cups to the Colledge, with an Inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found

found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen *Elizabeth*: Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general news, but some were more important, and relate to the disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions, and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens Inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them, that they plainly expresst their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wishes that the Vestments together with all the other Remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the Queens fixedness to them: so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in *January* the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose. *Cotenditur de vestibus* Papisticis *utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the *Popish* vestments whether they should be used or not, but God will put an end to those things. *Horn* Bishop of *Wincheſter* went further: For in a Letter dated the 16 of *July*, 1565. He writes of the Act concerning the Habits, with great regret, and expresses some hopes

that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the *Popish* Party did not hinder it, and he seems to stand in doubt whether he should conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires *Bullinger's* advice. And in many Letters writ on that subject, it is asserted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridly* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulness, but not their fitness, and therefore they blamed private persons that refused to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27 of *August*, 1566. writes, that all the Bishops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall: but she was so prepossessed that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the Queens spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters than formerly, he also thanks *Bullinger* for the Letter that he had writ justifying the Lawful use of the Habits, which, he says, had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his Letters, laments the aversion that they found in the Parliament to all the propositions that were made for the Reformation of abuses. *Jewel*, in a Letter dated the 22 of *May* 1559. writes, That the Queen refused to be called Head of the Church, and

adds

adds. That, that Title could not be juſtly given to any Mortal, it being due only to Chriſt, and that ſuch Titles had been ſo much abuſed by Antichriſt, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all theſe Paſſages I will make no reflections here: For I ſet them down only to ſhew what was the ſenſe of our Chief Church-men at that Time concerning thoſe Matters, which have ſince engaged us into ſuch warm and angry Diſputes, and this may be no inconſiderable Inſtruction to one that intends to write the Hiſtory of that time. The laſt particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might ſeem a little too learned, if I were writing to a leſs knowing Man than your ſelf.

I have taken ſome pains in my Travels to examine all the Antient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament, concerning that doubted paſſage of St. *Johns* Epiſtle; *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and theſe three are one. Bullinger* doubted much of it, becauſe he found it not in an Antient Latin Manuſcript at *Zurich*, which ſeems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be uſed in *Charles* the Great's Time. I turned the Manuſcript, and found the Paſſage was not there; but this was certainly the error or omiſſion of the Copier: For before the General Epiſtles in that Manuſcript the Preface of St. *Jerome* is to be found, in which he ſays that he was the more exact in that Tranſlation, that ſo he might diſcover the

fraud of the *Arrians* who had ſtruck out that paſſage concerning the Trinity. This Preface is printed in *Lira*'s Bible: but how it came to be left out by *Eraſmus* in his Edition of that Father's works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand *Eraſmus*'s ſinceritie ought not to be too raſhly cenſured, ſo on the other hand that Preface being in all the Manuſcripts Antient or Modern of thoſe Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever yet ſaw, it is not eaſie to imagine what made *Eraſmus* not to publiſh it, and it is in the Manuſcript Bibles at *Baſle*, where he printed his Edition of St. *Jerome*'s works. In the old Manuſcript Bible of *Geneva*, that ſeems to be above 700 years old, both the Preface and the paſſage are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions ſet the verſe concerning *the Father*, *the Word*, *and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water*, *the Blood*, *and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this paſſage in my Travels, there is a Manuſcript in St. *Mark*'s Library in *Venice* in three Languages, Greek, Latin, and Arabick, that ſeem not above 400 years old, in which this paſſage is not in the Greek, but it is in the Latin ſet after the other three with a *ſicut* to join it to what goes before. And in a Manuſcript Latin Bible in the Librarie of St. *Laurence* at *Florence* both S. *Jerome*'s Preface and this paſſage are extant: but this Paſſage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *ſicut* as is that of *Venice*: yet

ſicut

ſicut is not in the *Geneva* Manuſcript. There are two Greek Manuſcripts of the Epiſtles at *Baſle*, that ſeem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this paſſage is to be found: they have alſo an Ancient Latine Bible, which is about 800 years old, in which tho St. *Jerom*'s Prologue is inſerted, yet this paſſage is wanting. At *Strasburg* I ſaw 4 very Ancient Manuſcripts of the New Teſtament in Latine: three of theſe ſeemed to be about the time of *Charles* the Great, but the fourth ſeemed to be much Antienter, and may belong to the ſeventh Century: in it neither the Prologue nor the place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margent. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, ſo is the place likewiſe, but it comes after the verſe of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *ſicut tres ſunt in cœlo.*

It ſeem'd ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible, that in the *Vatican* Library there are no Antient Latin Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I ſaw none above 400 year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuſcript of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelſtrat*, that was Librarie-keeper, aſſerted to be 1400. year old, and proved it by the great ſimilitude of the Characters with thoſe that are upon S. *Hippolites* Statue, which is ſo evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the Antiquitie of this Manuſcript is not to be diſputed.

ted. If the Characters are not ſo fair, and have not all the marks of Antiquity that appears in the Kings Manuſcript at St. *James*'s, yet this has been much better preſerved, and is much more entire. The paſſage that has led me into this digreſſion, is not to be found in the *Vatican* Manuſcript, no more than it is in the Kings Manuſcript. And with this I will finiſh my account of *Zurich*. The Publick Library is very noble; the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handſome Cabinet of Medals, and ſo I will break off; but when I have gone ſo much farther that I have gathered Materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a ſecond Entertainment, ſuch as it is, from

Your, &c.

Poſtſcript.

I told you, that in *Bern* the Bailiages are given by a ſort of Ballot, which is ſo managed that no Mans Vote is known; but I muſt now add, that ſince I was firſt there, they have made a conſiderable regulation in the way of Voting, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* Method, and which expoſes the Competitours more to chance, and by conſequence may put an end to the Intrigues, that are ſo much in uſe for obtaining thoſe Imployments. There is a number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the number of thoſe that have right to Vote, and that are preſent; of theſe the third part is Gilt, and two parts are only Silvered, ſo every one takes out a Ball; but none

none can vote except those who have the gilt Balls, so that hereafter a man may have more then two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the Persecution began first in *France*, opened a Sanctuary to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so Christian a manner, that it deserves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it: such Ministers and others that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Chevennes*, have not only found a kind reception here, but all the support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French* Ministers a Pension of five Crowns a Month, if they were unmarried, have increased it to such as had Wife and Children, so that some had above ten Crowns a month Pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de Vaud*: but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the charities of *Zurich* and the other Neighbouring *Protestant* States, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant* Cantons, but the *Grisons*, and some small States that are under the protection of the Cantons, such as *Neuf-chastel*, S. *Gall*, and some others have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this relief brings upon them, and in this last total and deplorable dis-

perſion of thoſe Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Charity and Compaſſion, that every Mans houſe and Purſe has been opened to the Refugies that have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſome times there have been above 2000 in *Lauſanne* alone, and of theſe there were at one time near 200 Miniſters, and they all met with a kindneſs and free heartedneſs, that lookt more like ſomewhat of the Primitive Age revived, than the degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I ſhall Conclude this Poſtſcript, which is already ſwelled to the bigneſs of a Letter, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and Heat that riſes among Divines concerning matters of ſmall conſequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and ſome others in *France* took in the matters that were diſputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the Death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, ſo it had ſome Aſſertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the imputation of *Adam*'s Sin, and aſſerted the Univerſality of Chriſt's Death, together with a ſufficient Grace given to all Men, aſſerting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an Efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it; theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in *Geneva*: two of the Profeſſors of Divinity there being known to favour thoſe Opinions. Upon this thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſite Doctrine, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that

that height, that almoſt the whole Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into Parties. If upon this the Magiſtrates had enjoyned ſilence to both Parties, they had certainly acted wiſely; for theſe are Speculations ſo little certain, and ſo little eſſential to Religion, that a diverſity of Opinions ought not to be made the occaſion of Heat or Faction. But tho' the Party of the Univerſaliſts was conſiderable in *Geneva*, it was very ſmall in *Switzerland*, therefore ſome Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up ſome Articles in which all theſe Doctrines were not only condemned, together with ſome Speculations that were aſſerted concerning *Adam*'s Immortality, and other Qualities belonging to the State of Innocency; but becauſe *Capel* and ſome other Criticks had not only aſſerted the Novelty of the Points, but had taken the Liberty to correct the Reading of the Hebrew, ſuppoſing that ſome Errours had been committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the Vowels and Conſonants, in oppoſition to this, they condemned all Corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and aſſerted the Antiquity of the Points, or at leaſt of the Power and Reading according to them, by which, tho' they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf*'s Opinion, as to the Antiquity of the Points, yet they ſhut the Door againſt all Corrections of the preſent punctuation. If this conſent of Doctrine, for ſo they termed it, had been made only the Standard againſt which no Man might have taught, without

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incurring Cenſures, the ſeverity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all ſuch as ſhould be admitted either to the Miniſtry, or to a *Profeſſors* Chair, to ſign *ſic ſentio*, ſo I think, and this being ſo ſetled at *Bern* and *Zurich* it was alſo carried by their Authority at *Geneva:* but for thoſe in Office, the Moderator and Clerk ſigned it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in thoſe matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxim that has been ſo often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples conſciences, and either ſhut out young men from imployments, or impoſe a Teſt upon them, which perhaps ſome have ſigned not without ſtruglings in their Conſcience. Yet ſome that ſet on this Teſt or Conſent are men of ſuch extraordinary worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a ſincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the truth, only I wiſh they had larger, and freer ſouls.

The only conſiderable Tax under which the *Switzers* lie, is that when Eſtates are ſold the fifth part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the abatement that the Bailif can make, is to bring it to a ſixth part, this they call the *Lod*, which his derived from *alodium*: only there are ſome Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this Tax: but this falling only on the ſellers of Eſtates, it was thought a juſt puniſhment, and a wiſe reſtraint on ill husbands of their Eſtates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have gi-

given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in ſome ſmall Towns in the Canton of *Bern* the chief Magiſtrate is ſtill ſo called; as in *Payerne*, ſo that I make no doubt but as the Antient Magiſtrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the Town, were called Advocates, and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Biſhops, was called at firſt Advocate, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*: ſo this was the Title that was ſtill continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Auſtrian* and *German* Yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too ſlightly the laſt difference that was in *Switzerland* which related to the Canton of *Glaris*. In the Canton of *Apenzel*, as the two Religions are tollerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different quarters, thoſe of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and thoſe of the other Religion have the other half, ſo they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the Papiſts is become very low; one aſſured me there were not above 200 families of that Religion, and thoſe are alſo ſo poor that their neceſſities diſpoſe ſome of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popiſh Cantons ſeeing the danger of loſing their intereſt entirely in that Canton, and being ſet on by the intrigues of a Court, that has underſtood well the policy of imbroiling all other States, made great uſe of ſome complaints that were brought by the Papiſts of *Glaris*, as if the prevail-

vailing of the other Religion expoſed them to much injuſtice and oppreſſion: and upon that they propoſed that the Canton ſhould be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extreamly unjuſt, ſince the Papiſts were not the tenth, or perhaps the 20. part of the Canton. It is true it was ſo ſituated in the midſt of the *Popiſh* Cantons, that the *Proteſtant* Cantons could not eaſily come to their aſſiſtance: but thoſe of *Glaris* reſolved to die rather than ſuffer this injuſtice, and the *Proteſtant* Cantons reſolved to engage in a War with the *Popiſh* Cantons if they impoſed this Matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at laſt this Temper was found, that in all Sutes of Law between thoſe of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges ſhould be always of the Religion of the Defendant, but while this Conteſt was on foot, thoſe who, as is believed, fomented it, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their advantage of the Conjuncture: for then was the Fortification of *Huninghen* at the Ports of *Baſle* much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehenſive when it is too late. There are ſix Noble Families in *Bern* that have ſtill this Priviledge, that when any of them is choſen to be of the Council, they take place before all the Antient Counſellors, whereas all the reſt take place according to the Order in which they were choſen to be of the Council.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the first of *October*, 1685.

AFTER a short stay at *Zurich* we went down the Lake, where we past under the Bridge at *Ripperswood*, which is a very Noble Work for such a Country; the Lake is there about half a mile broad, the Bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes: and this same defect I found in almost all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that defence is made upon so small an expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked: and that was more surprizing in some places where the Bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this, but those are Sober Countrys, where drinking is not much in use. After two days journey we came to *Coire*, which is the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten days there, I came to

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be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known: The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls; it lies in a bottom upon a small Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with Mountains of all hands, so that they have a very short Summer, for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June*; and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there: On a rising ground at the East-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bishops Palace, and the Close where the Dean and six Prebendaries live; all within the Close are Papists, but all the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill one goes up by a steep ascent to Saint *Lucius* Chappel; my Curiosity carried me thither: Tho I gave no Faith to the Legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the *Grisons*. His Chappel is a litte Vault about ten foot square, where there is an Altar, and where Mass is said upon some great Festivities; it is situated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it some drops of a small Fountain fall down near the Chappel; the Bishop assured me it had a miraculous Vertue for weak eyes, and that it was Oily: but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any Oyliness: I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-

Water is, but when I offered to ſhew the good old Biſhop that the Legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the parts of it; but moſt remarkably in that which related to the *Griſons*; and that we had no Kings in *Brittain* at that time, but were a Province to the *Romans*, that no Antient Authors ſpeak of it; *Bede* being the firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his Anſwer, has evident Characters of Forgery in it, all this ſignified nothing to the Biſhop, who aſſured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inſerted in their Breviary which he firmly believed: he alſo told me the other Legend of King *Lucius*'s Siſter S. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whoſe Veil there was yet a conſiderable Remnant reſerved among their Reliques: I confeſs I never ſaw a Relique ſo ill diſguiſed, for it is a piece of worn linnen Cloath lately waſht, and the Burning did not ſeem to be above a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Caſe to ſhew it me, there were ſome there that with great Devotion rub'd their Beads upon it. The Biſhop had ſome Conteſts with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proſcribed him: The Dean had alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that by an Order of the Diet, to which even the Biſhop, as was believed, conſented, he was put in Priſon as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common conſent both of the *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Communities, a Law was long ago made againſt

againſt Eccleſiaſtical Immunities: this attempt on the Dean was made four year ago; as ſoon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great Complaints of the Biſhop, and it was thought the Popiſh party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Biſhop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Biſhop made ſome invaſion: Upon which I took occaſion to ſhew him the novelty of thoſe Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Biſhop had the authority over his Preſbyters by a divine right; and if it was by a divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: but the Biſhop would not carry the matter ſo high, and contented himſelf with two Maxims; the one was, That the Biſhop was Chriſt's Vicar in his Dioceſs; and the other was, That what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Biſhop was the ſame in his Dioceſs.

He was a good natured man, and did not make uſe of the great Authority that he has over the Papiſts there, to ſet them on to live uneaſily with their neighbours of another Religion. That Biſhop was antiently a great Prince, and the greateſt part of the League that carries ſtill the name of *The Houſe of God* belonged to him, tho I was aſſured that *Pregallia* one of thoſe Communities was a free State above ſix hundred years ago, and that

that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other Communities of this League bought their Liberties from ſeveral Biſhops ſome conſiderable time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant, ſo that it is an impudent thing to ſay, as ſome have done, that they ſhook off his yoke at that time.

The Biſhop hath yet reſerved a Revenue of about one thouſand pound ſterling a year, and every one of theſe Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not eaſie to imagine out of what the Riches of this Countrey is raiſed, for one ſees nothing but a tract of vaſt Mountains that ſeem barren Rocks, and ſome little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the beſt part of theſe is waſhed away by the *Rhine*, and ſome Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth conſiſts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much paſture; and in the hot months, in which all the paſture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into theſe Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thouſand Crowns a year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular perſons are ſo rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Eſtates to the value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. Mr. *Schoveſtein*, that is accounted the Richeſt Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of Livres. The Government there is purely a Commonwealth, for in the choice of their Magiſtrates every man that is

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above ſixteen years old hath his Voice, which is alſo the Conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the *Griſons*, that of *the Houſe of God*, and that of *the ten Juriſdictions*.

They believe that upon the incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as ſome fled to the *Venetian* Iſlands, out of which aroſe that famous Common-wealth; ſo others came and ſheltred themſelves in thoſe Valleys. They told me of an Antient Inſcription lately found, of a Stone where on the one ſide is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Cæſar*; the Stone on which this Inſcription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not paſs that way, ſo I can make no judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this People, they where caſt into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Juſtice was adminiſtred, and ſo they fell under the Power of ſome little Princes that became ſevere Maſters; but when they ſaw the Example that the *Switzers* had ſet them, in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* yoke, above two hundred years ago, they likewiſe combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall Princes uſed their Authority better, and concurred with the people in ſhaking off the yoke, and ſo they are ſtill parts of the body; only *Haldeſtein* is an abſolute Soverainty, it is about two Miles from *Coire* to the Weſt, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a Mile long at the foot

foot of the *Alps*, where there is ſcarce any breadth. The authority of theſe Barons was formerly more abſolute than it is now, for the ſubjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little Village; they have granted them a power of naming a liſt for their Magiſtrates, the perſon being to be named by the Baron; who hath alſo the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing alſo that belongs to a Soveraign. I ſaw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an Equipage not ſuitable to his Quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of *Inchpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenſtein* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of thoſe Communities of which their Baronies are compoſed; they name the Magiſtrates out of the Liſts that are Preſented to them by their Subjects; and they have the right of pardoning & of confiſcations: That belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the biggeſt, it hath five voices in the Diet, and it can raiſe twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperor in the year 1679. He entred upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were ſpecified in an agreement that paſt between him and his Peaſants, and was confirmed by the Emperour. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the Priviledges of his Subjects, who upon that made their Complaints to the League; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the Emperor ſupported him in this preten-

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ſion, and ſent an Agent to the Diet: I was preſent when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Complements: But the Diet ſtood firm to their Conſtitution, and aſſerted that the Emperor had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, ſo *Travers* was forced to let his Pretenſions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical, there are three different Bodies or Leagues, and every one of theſe are an intire Government, and the Aſſembly or Diet of the three Leagues, is only a Confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons: There are ſixty ſeven Voices in the General Diet, which are thus divided: the League of the *Griſons* hath twenty-eight Voices, that of the Houſe of God hath twenty four, and that of the Juriſdictions hath fifteen. The Juriſdictions belonged anciently to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but they having ſhaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet, but in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Auſtrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with ſo much vigour, that the *Auſtrians* it ſeems thought the Conqueſt not worth the while, and that it would not quit the Coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions; in one Village which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, ſome hundreds, as I was told, were quartered, and were apprehenſive of no danger from their Hoſteſſes; but the Women intend-

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ed to let their Husbands ſee that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho it muſt be confeſt it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex: They entred into a combination to cut the throats of all the Souldiers at one time: the Woman that propoſed this, had four lodged with her, and ſhe with her own hands diſpatcht them all, and ſo did all the reſt, not one Souldier eſcaping to carry away the news of ſo unheard of a rage. In another place a body of *Auſtrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned, for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves, had got up to the Mountains; but they took their meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves ſo of the Paſſes, that they came down upon the Souldiers with ſo much fury that they defeated them quite, ſo that very few eſcaped, and it is certain, that the ſubduing them would have proved a very hard work: It is true, they are not in a condition to hold out long, the Publick is ſo poor; ſo that tho particular perſons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preſerve his Liberty, which is more intire here than it is even in *Switzerland*, but this ſwells often too much, and throws them into great Convulſions. The League of the *Griſons* is the firſt and moſt ancient, and it is compoſed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen Papiſts, and the reſt are Proteſtants; the Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not ſuffer thoſe of another Reli-

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gion to live among them, ſo that every Community is entirely of the ſame Religion, and if any one changes he muſt go into another Community. Each Community is an intire State within it ſelf, and all Perſons muſt meet once a year to chuſe the Judge and his Aſſiſtants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they ſee cauſe: There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peaſant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord, nor dare his Landlord uſe him ill when he Votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peaſants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Aſſembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the general Diet of the three Leagues, except in matters that concern the Conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the Three. There is one choſen by the Deputies for the Aſſembly of the League, who is called the head of the League, that can call them together as he ſees cauſe, and can likewiſe bring a Cauſe that had been once judged to a ſecond hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The ſecond League is *that of the Houſe of God*, in which there are four and twenty Communities, the Bourgomaſter of *Coire* is always the head of this League: This League is almoſt wholly *Proteſtant*, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower *Engedin* are pointed out by the Papiſts, as little leſs than *Cannibals* towards ſuch Catholicks as come among them; but Friar *Sfondrato*, Nephew

phew to Pope *Gregory* the Fourteenth, whose Mother the Marquess of *Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen year ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles, and he became so much in love with the Crown of Martyrdom that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His Brother had come sometime before into the Countrey to drink mineral Waters, and was well known to the *Gentrey*, so some of these hearing of the Friars coming went and waited on him; and he was entertained by them in their Houses, and conveyed through the Country; tho' he took all possible wayes to provoke them, for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their Civilities still, which did so inrage the warm Friar that he went to *Bormio*, and (there as was believed) he died of grief. An accident fell out five year ago, that the People of the Countrey esteemed a sort of a Miracle. The *Papists* in their Processions go sometimes out of one Community into another, and when they pass through *Protestant* Communities they lower the Cross, and give over singing till they are again upon *Popish* ground; but then they went on bearing up the Cross, and singing as they went, upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick*

Community, and desired them to come to their assistance: Two thousand came, and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the appearance of such a number, they retired; and this saved a little battel that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their Leagues. The *Papists* of Quality endeavour much to keep their People in order, but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The Jurisdictions have fifteen Votes in the general Diet, yet they are generally called the Ten Jurisdictions, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion, for upon the general computation of the three Leagues, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the middle, and two on either side; at every Table sits the head of the League and Secretary near him, and from the Table there goes down Benches on both hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League: They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it hapned to be the turn of *The House of God*, when I was there, so they met at *Coire*.

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The three Leagues have a conquered Countrey in *Italy* divided into three Districts, the *Valteline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*. When *John Galeaſſe* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drive out *Barnabas*, *Maſtinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given thoſe three Branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the Biſhop, when he died he gave his Right to thoſe Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire*, but here was a Title without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, ſince they were Maſters of the Paſſes, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they reſolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: yet they had not zeal enough for their Biſhop to ingage deep upon his account, ſo they agreed with him to pay him ſuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were ſo conſiderable to the *Spaniards*, that without ſo much ado, they yielded thoſe parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this means they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe Acceſſions to this State are much better than the Principal, for as certainly the *Valteline*, which is above forty miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeſt Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harveſts ſome years, ſo the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the beſt *Valleys* of the *Griſons*; yet the ingagement that people have to their native homes appears ſignally

here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Countrey that they might scituate themselves so advantagiously: but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the safety they injoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions, so they govern them by Bailifs and *Podesta's*, and other Officers whom they send among them: And all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magistrates whom they do send to Govern them, do inrich themselves as the Bailifs in *Switzerland* do. All those Offices go round the several Communities who have the right of Nomination in their turn: But if there is none of the Community proper for the Employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the Community distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the Fines, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum, and ten or twelve thousand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year, so that their Subjects live happy and free of all Taxes, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a People under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that the *Protestant* Religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Masters, cut the throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, who are the terribleſt Maſters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that Rebellion and Maſſacre, I muſt give an account of a part of this Conſtitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateſt men in it to tremble: The Peaſants come ſometimes in great Bodies and demand a Chamber of Juſtice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this Tumult of the Peaſants is ſet on by ſome of the male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is compoſed of ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them: this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquiſition, they give the Queſtion, and do every thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the truth of ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them, and the deciſions of this Court can never be brought under a ſecond review, tho there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one Court of Juſtice reverſed all that another had done, but that is a ſingle inſtance. The Peaſants are in as great a jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream ſenſible of a great diſſolution of Morals that the *Spaniſh* ſervice brings among them: For

there is a *Griſon* Regiment kept ſtill in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thouſand Crowns pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the ſervice: This is upon a matter a Penſion paid under a more decent name to the moſt conſiderable Men of the Countrey, and this is ſhared among them without any diſtinction of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, and is believed to ſway their Councils much. The Peaſants are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by thoſe Penſioners of *Spain*, and when rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a Chamber of Juſtice; the common Queſtion that they give, which is alſo uſed all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is that they tie the Hands of the ſuſpected perſon behind his back, and pull them up to his Head, and ſo draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are diſjointed, and when a Perſon put to the Queſtion confeſſes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confeſſion upon Oath at the place of Execution, and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith that his Confeſſion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Queſtion: For this paſſes for a Maxime, that no man muſt die unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty: Generally when the fury of demanding this Chamber is ſpread among the people, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the Peaſants, for they know not where it will

will end, and so the Peasants being named to be Judges, the Justices go quick till some Sacrifices appease the Rage. Two year ago, upon the sale of a Common to the Bishop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretension, the Peasants having no more the Liberty of the Common, were inraged at their Magistrates, and a report was spread abroad, of which the first Author could never be discovered, that the *Spaniards* had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates, upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: But the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them ingaged among the Peasants, or that managed their rage: a Chamber of Justice was granted, but the matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty, yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a Fond to pay the Expences of the Chamber, and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one of the *Spanish* Companies. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the Rebellion and Massacre in the *Valteline*.

In the year 1618. there was a report set about, that the *Spaniards* had a Treatie on foot to tear away the *Valteline* from the Leagues,

this was ſupported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governour of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Como*, near the *Valteline*. There was one *Ganatz* a Miniſter, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that ſet on, and managed the rage of the Peaſants, and there was reaſon to ſuſpect ſome underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleaſed. A Chamber of Juſtice was appointed to ſit at *Taſſane*, which is a conſiderable Town twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and ſmall Hill, to which there is no acceſs but on one ſide, where there are yet the Ruines of a Caſtle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of *Rhetus* the firſt Prince of the Countrey: There was ſevere Juſtice done in this Chamber, a Prieſt was put to the Queſtion, and ſo ill uſed, that he died in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief ſuſpicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the beſt Families of the *Griſons*, was then one of the Captains in the *Spaniſh* Regiment; he withdrew himſelf from the ſtorm, but the Peaſants led on by *Ganatz* purſued him ſo, that at laſt they found him and hewed him in pieces. *Ganatz* himſelf ſtriking the firſt ſtroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preſerved by his Friends, and four and twenty years after fifty or ſixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the ſame Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their deſign by the ſame Tool with which their Friend was murthered. *Ganatz* had, during the Wars, aban-

abandoned both his Religion and Profeſſion, being indeed a diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spaniſh* Troops. After the peace was made he became ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Faction, that he was choſen Governour of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a Diet, he being then in ſo important a Charge: but he was ſo much hated, that tho the murthering of a Magiſtrate in Office, and at a Publick Aſſembly, in ſo terrible a manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Queſtion, confeſſed enough to hang them, ſome indured the Queſtion and eſcaped with the loſs of the uſe of their Arms. Thoſe of the *Valteline* have made uſe of this ſeverity, as that which gave the riſe to the Maſſacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in ſome, that would have been otherwiſe more moderate; and that it did likewiſe precipitate that barbarous action: yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, ſo that the induſtry and rage of the Prieſts managed by *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, working upon the bigotry of the people was the real Cauſe, and this was only made uſe of as a Pretext to give ſome more plauſible colours to the Maſſacre, which was executed ſome months after this Chamber was diſſolved. It began while the Proteſtants were at Church, there were ſome hundreds deſtroyed, the reſt

got all up to the Mountains, and ſo eſcaped into the Countrey of the *Griſons*, and thoſe of *Chavennes* got likewiſe up to the Hills, for they are ſituated juſt at the bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that War, the *French* ſaw of what advantage it was to them not to let this Paſs from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; ſo *Baſſompiere* was ſent to *Madrid*, and obtained a Promiſe, that all things ſhould be put in the ſame ſtate in which they were before the year 1618, but when that Order was ſent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had ſecret Orders to the contrary, for he refuſed to execute it; ſo a War followed, in which the *Griſons* found it was not eaſie for them to ſupport the Charge of it, without imploying the aſſiſtance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other intereſt in the Affairs of the *Valteline* than the preſervation of the Catholick Religion, and to ſhew their ſincerity, they put the Countrey into the Pope's hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their aſſiſtance, nor reſtore it without ſecuring it from all change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the Cauſe of the *Griſons*, and becauſe the Duke of *Rohan* was like to be the moſt favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was ſent to command ſome Forces that marched thither: But he ſaw that if the *French* once made themſelves Maſters of the Paſſes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine, and

and finding the *Griſons* repoſed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inſtrument in that which he ſaw muſt be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing leſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſes, offered to reſtore all the Territory in *Italy*, for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewiſe revolted, only the *Proteſtants* got away ſo quick upon the diſorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the rage of the Prieſts. The *Spaniards* ask'd theſe Conditions, that an *Amneſty* ſhould be granted for what was paſt, that there ſhould be no exerciſe of the *Proteſtant* Religion tolerated in the Country, and that even the Bailifs and other Magiſtrates of the Religion, that came to be ſent into their *Valteline*, ſhould have no exerciſe of the Religion, and as for other perſons, that none of the Religion might ſtay above ſix weeks at a time in the Countrey. The Duke of *Rohan* ſeeing that Conditions of ſo much advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did underhand adviſe thoſe of the Religion to accept of them, at the ſame time that he ſeemed openly to oppoſe the Treaty ſet on foot on thoſe terms, and that he might get out of this Employment with the leſs diſhonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in Priſon till they had finiſhed their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preſervation of their Countrey to the wiſe advices of that great Man. Many that were of

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the Religion return to their Houſes and Eſtates, but the greateſt part fearing ſuch another Maſſacre, having ſince changed their Religion, others have ſold their Eſtates, and left the Countrey, ſome ſtay ſtill and go two or three hours journey to ſome of the Proteſtant Communities, where they have the exerciſe of the Religion: And tho they may not ſtay in the *Valteline* above ſix weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Countrey once within that time, nor is that matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined, ſo that there is a calm among them as to thoſe matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Proteſtant* Communities to ſend one of the Religion to thoſe Employments, he is often much embaraſſed by the Biſhop of *Como*, to whoſe Dioceſs thoſe Territories belong, for if the Biſhop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, he excommunicates them, and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, ſince they are already in a worſe ſtate for being Hereticks, yet it produces a very ſenſible effect, for the people that are extreamly ſuperſtitious, will not after that come near ſuch Magiſtrates, ſo that about three year ago a Bailif found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, ſince being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own Perſon.

Among the *Griſons* the *Roman* Law prevails, modified a little by their Cuſtoms: one that was a little particular was executed when

when I was there. A Man that hath an Eſtate by his Wife enjoyes it after her death as long as he continues a Widdower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Juſtice is ſhort and ſimple, but it is oft thought that Bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The Married Women here do ſcarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is ſuch a plenty of all things by reaſon of the gentleneſs of the Government and the induſtry of the people, that in all the ten dayes in which I ſtaied at *Coire*, I was but once askt an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*, in the one there is an Organ that joyns with their Voices in the ſinging of the Pſalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem ſung by a ſet of Muſicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Griſons*, except in this only, the Miniſter preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular devotion uſed here in ſaying of the Lords Prayer, that the Miniſters who wear Caps, put them off when this was ſaid. The Women here, as in *Bern*, turn all to the *Eaſt* in time of Prayer, and alſo in their Private Devotions before and after the Publick Prayers: many alſo bow at the Name of *Jeſus*: They Chriſten diſcovering the whole head, and pouring the Water on the hind-head, uſing a true

true aſperſion, which is alſo the practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification to ſee the great numbers both here, and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to Prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good interval of ſilence for the private devotions of the Aſſembly. The Schools here go not above *Latin*, *Greek* and *Logick*, and for the reſt they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The Clergy here are very meanly provided: For moſt part they have nothing but the benevolence of their People: They complained much to me of a great coldneſs in their People in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their Morals: The Commons are extream inſolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Miniſters here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend that in all times they had not only the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to diſmiſs their Church-men as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of *the Houſe of God* told me they had an ill Cuſtom of Ordaining their Miniſters without a Title, upon an Examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours, and when this Trial was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified they Ordained him, and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus Ordained to endeavour to undermine the Miniſters

niſters already in Emploiment, if their People grew diſguſted at them, or as they became diſabled by age, and often the intereſt and kindred of the Intruder, carried the matter againſt the Incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that caſe the *Synode* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high *Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romaniſh*, that is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every League they have a Synod, and as the people chuſe their Miniſters, ſo in imitation of the *Switzers* every *Synod* chuſes their *Antiſtes* or Superintendant, he is called the Dean among the *Griſons*, and hath a ſort of an Epiſcopal Power, but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for Life, but the *Synod* upon great Cauſe given may make a change. The People of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have ſome tincture of the *Italian* Temper. They are extream civil to Strangers, but it ſeems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in *Holland* or in *Switzerland*.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the *Griſons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the Miniſters of *Coire* and ſeveral other Gentlemen, that ſaw in *April* 1685. about five hundred perſons of different Sexes and Ages that paſt through the Town, who gave this account of them-

themſelves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greateſt part to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Saltsburg*, but ſome of them were in the Dioceſſes of *Trent* and *Breſſe*, they ſeemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenſes*, they worſhipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a Commemoration of the death of Chriſt, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinious different from thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calviniſts*; and the *Griſons*, tho their Neighbours, had never heard of this nearneſs of theirs to the *Proteſtant* Religion. They had Maſs ſaid among them, but ſome years ſince ſome of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn ſomewhat by their Labour, happened to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better inſtructed in matters of Religion, and theſe brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelberg* Catechiſme, together with ſome other *German* Books, which run over the Valley, and they being before that in a good diſpoſition, thoſe Books had ſuch an effect upon them, that they gave over going to Maſs any more, and began to worſhip God in a way more ſuitable to the Rules ſet down in Scripture, ſome of their Prieſts concurred with them in this happy Change, but others that adhered ſtill to the Maſs, went and gave the Archbiſhop of *Slatsburg* an account of it, upon which he ſent ſome into the Countrey to examine the Truth of the matter, to exhort

hort them to return to Maſs, and to threaten them with all ſeverity, if they continued obſtinate: ſo they ſeeing a terrible ſtorm ready to break upon them, reſolved to abandon their Houſes and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their Conſciences: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley, old and young, Men and Women, to the number of two thouſand, divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies; ſome intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way of *Coire*, intending to diſperſe themſelves in *Switzerland*. The Miniſters told me they were much edified with their ſimplicity, and modeſty, for a Collection being made for them, they deſired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Toſſane*, and from that through the way that is juſtly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in ſome places, and in ſeveral places, the ſteepneſs of the Rock being ſuch, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it; over which boards and earth are laid; this way holds an hour: And after that there is for two hours good way, and we paſt through two conſiderable Villages, there is good lodging in both; from thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almoſt as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours journey good way to

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Splugen, which is a large Village of above two hundred Houſes that are well built, and the Inhabitants ſeem all to live at their eaſe, tho' they have no ſort of Soil but a little Meadow Ground about them; this is the laſt Proteſtant Church that was in our way, it was well Indowed, for the Proviſion of the Miniſter was near two hundred Crowns: Thoſe of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, ſo they drive a great Trade, for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming; and we are told that there paſs generally a hundred Horſes through this Town one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horſe that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three Hours till we got to the top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that the Way was tollerably good for two Hours, and for two Hours there is conſtant deſcent, which for the moſt part is as ſteep as if we were all the while going down Stairs: At the Foot of this is a little Village, called *Campdolcin*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vaſt difference of the Climate; for whereas we were freezing on the other ſide, the heat of the Sun was uneaſie here, and alſo by the number of the Beggars, tho' it may ſeem the reverſe of what one ought to expect, ſince the richeſt Countrey of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Griſons* that are one of the pooreſt States have no Beggars at all. One thing is alſo ſtrange, that among the

the *Griſons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried three days journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries where it grows at the door: But there are no Taxes nor Impoſitions here. From *Campdolcin* there is three hours journey to *Chavenvennes*, all in a ſlow deſcent, and in ſome places the way is extream rugged and ſtony. *Chavennes* is very pleaſantly ſcituated at the very foot of the Mountains, there runs through the Town a pleaſant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the Sun-beams from the Mountains, doth ſo increaſe the heats here, that the Soil is as rich here as in any place of *Italy*. Here one begins to ſee a Noble Architecture in a great many Houſes; in ſhort, all the marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town ſtood a little more to the North, about five hundred year ago; but a Slice of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite, and at the upper end of the Town there are ſome Rocks that look like Ruines; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for Forts, and Caſtles: The marks of the Tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I meaſured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot, the length is four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could gueſs the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both ſides in a line as even as a wall,

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towards the top of one the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters a little *Gothick*. On the tops of thoſe Rocks which are inacceſſible, except on the one ſide, and to that the aſcent is extream uneaſie, they had Garriſons during the Wars of *Valteline*: there were fifteen hundred in Garriſon in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently ſlices from the Hills that do extreamly fatten the ground which they cover, ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond expreſſion, and I ſaw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been ſo covered, that was two fathom and a half of compaſs. On both ſides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom that lies between the Hills, and at the roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars, and Grottoes, and ſtrike a hole about a foot ſquare, ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a freſh Air into the Cellar, ſo that the Wine of thoſe Cellars drinks almoſt as cold as if it were in Ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compreſſed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, ruſhes out with a conſtant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this courſe of the Air is leſs ſenſible. Before or over thoſe Vaults they build little pleaſant rooms like Summer-houſes, and in

in them they go to collation generally at night in Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes than grow there, there is one sort bigger than the biggest Damascene Plums that we have in *England*.

There is a sort of Wine here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called Aromatick-Wine, and as the taste makes one think it must be a Composition, for it tastes like a Strong-water drawn off Spices, so its strength being equal to a weak Brandy, dispose one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any mixture. The Liquor being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes are red, tho it drinks white, they let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their Garrets, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three Months, then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound Grapes: after they are pressed they put the Liquor in an open Vessel, in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the season is sooner or later, for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight, then they put it in a close Vessel; for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at the

the end of the year they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Veſſel, almoſt two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every year they fill it up anew: once a year in the month of March it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. Madam *Salis*, a Lady of that Countrey, who entertained us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had Wine of this Compoſition that was forty years old, and was ſo very ſtrong that one could hardly drink above a ſpoonful, and it taſted high of Spicery, though ſhe aſſured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatſoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and diſtils it ſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

Both here, and in the *Griſons* the Meat is very juicy, the Fowl is excellent, their Roots and Herbs very taſteful; but the Fiſh of their Lakes is beyond any thing I ever ſaw. They live in a great ſimplicity, as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich, the Family where we were ſo nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thouſand Crowns: here the *Italian* Cuſtome of one only of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a ſort of Pots of Stone that is uſed, not only in all the Kitchins here, but almoſt all *Lombardie* over, called *Lavege*; the Stone feels

feels oily and ſcaly, ſo that a Scale ſticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the nature of a Slate, there are but three Mines of it known in theſe parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Griſons*, but the firſt is much the beſt, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is ſet a going by Water, and which is ſo ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very eaſily draws forward the Wheel out of the courſe of the Water; they turn off firſt the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one Pot after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a neſt of Pots all one within another, the outward and biggeſt being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger than a ſmall Pipkin; theſe they arm with hooks and circles of braſs, and ſo they are ſerved by them in their Kitchins. One of theſe Stone Pots takes heat and boils ſooner than any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots tranſmit the heat ſo intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice ſo thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any ſort of taſte to the Liquor that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired

paired by patching it up, for they peece their broken Pots ſo cloſe, tho without any cement, by ſowing with Iron wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the leaſt breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The paſſage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they muſt creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is ſo hard that the paſſage is not above three foot high, and ſo thoſe that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their belly, having a Candle faſtned in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a ſort of Cuſhion made for it upon their hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned ſome falls of Mountains in thoſe parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary fate of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a League from *Chavennes* to the North in the ſame bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raiſed: The Town was half the bigneſs of *Chavennes*, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred perſons, but it was much more nobly built; for beſides the great Palace of the *Francken*, that coſt ſome millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by ſeveral rich Factors both of *Milan* and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the ſcituation and air, as well as the freedom of the Government of this place, ſo they uſed to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themſelves all the indulgences that a vaſt wealth could furniſh.

By

By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an Out-house of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly, House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The Voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and Madam *de Salis* told me that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a Protestant Minister's Sermons that preached in a little Church which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25*th* of *August* 1628. an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a Daughter whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him, but when she was gone out of Town with him, she called to Mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, so that not one Person escaped: The fall of the Mountains did so fill the Channel of the River, that the first News those of *Chavennes* had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours came not a drop of Water, but t[illegible] wrought for it self a new Course an[illegible]

to them, I could hear no particular Character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day of those steps of Divine Providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the Family of the *Francken* got some Miners to work under ground to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace; for besides their Plate and Furniture there was a great Cash and many Jewels in the House: The Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that Treasure. The chief Factors of *Italy* have been *Grisons*, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same thing, so the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*, and to this day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the Neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Country is such, that the Natives when they have made up Estates elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those Mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a Plain to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which

which is almoſt round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como* over againſt the Fort *Fuentes*; when we paſſed there the Water was ſo low that the Boat could not eaſily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty Miles long and four broad, it runs between two Ranges of Hills: I did not ſtay long enough in *Como* to give any deſcription of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little Turn that I made into the Bailiages that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarmo* and *Bellinzona*: But I took another courſe, ſo I ſaw nothing in *Como*; the beſt thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the preſent Pope, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight Miles to *Codelago*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight Miles of Lake: This Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that riſe under the Alps; but the ſituation of the Hills about it throws it into ſeveral Courſes.

The *Switzers* have here ſeveral little Provinces or Bailiages, of which during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns, in *Francis* the Firſt, and *Charles* the Fifth's time, they poſſeſſed themſelves as a Pledge for payment of their Arrears, and they were then ſuch conſiderable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of *Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of almoſt all that Tract

that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeſſii* or the Valleys. The inhabitants here are ſo well uſed, they live ſo free of all Impoſitions, and the *Switzers* Government is ſo gentle, that here I muſt tell you another Paradox, this is the worſt Countrey, the leaſt productive, the moſt expoſed to cold, and the leaſt capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the beſt Peopled of any that I ſaw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugane* alone Ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Antient *Cantons* have their turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here: But when it comes to the turn of thoſe of the Religion, their Bailifs muſt be contented with Private Devotions in their own Houſes, but can have no Publick Exerciſes, not ſo much as a Miniſter in their Houſes. For here as in the *Valteline* when the *Spaniards* confirmed the right of the *Cantons* to thoſe Territories, they made an expreſs Proviſion, that no Religion except the Popiſh ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the Bailif who is the Prince often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in theſe Parts. The Bailiſs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the Natives any diſtaſte, tho the Miſeries to which they ſee all their Neighnours expoſed, and the abundance and Liberty in which they live, ſhould by all appearance deliver their Maſters from any great apprehenſions

ſions of a Revolt: A great many Mechanicks of all ſorts live in theſe parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all Taxes. I was told that ſome Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberines* had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Countrey from them, and ſo to erect it into a Principality, and that they had reſolved to offer twelve thouſand Crowns to the twelve *Cantons*, but they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made not the Propoſition to the Diet of the *Cantons* as they once intended, and it is certain whenſoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke like that which the reſt of *Italy* bears, it will be ſoon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws ſo many people to live in ſo ill a Soil, when they are in ſight of the beſt Soil of *Europe*, but the eaſineſs of the Government. From *Lugano* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is ſix any fifty Miles long, and in moſt places ſix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Weſtward, and there lies here two Iſlands called the *Borromean* Iſlands, that are certainly the loveliеſt ſpots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them, they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the Terraſſes here, they belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was only in one of them which belongs to the head of the Fa-

milie, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the name of S. *Carlo*: on the West-end lies the Palace, which is one of the beſt of *Italy*, for the Lodgings within, tho the Architecture is but ordinary, there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vaſt addition making to it, and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I ſaw out of *Rome*: The whole Iſland is a Garden, except a little corner to the South ſet off for a Village of about forty little Houſes, and becauſe the Figure of the Iſland was not made regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made Groteſque, and ſo they have brought it into a regular form by laying Earth over thoſe Vaults. There is firſt a Garden to the Eaſt that riſes up from the Lake by five rows of Terraſſes, on the three ſides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake, the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful ſpot of a Garden cannot be ſeen: There are two Buildings in the two corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and another is a noble Summer-Houſe all Wainſcotted, if I may ſpeak ſo, with Alabaſter and Marble of a fine colour inclining to red, from this Garden one goes in a level to all the reſt of the Alleys and Parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens, in all which there are Varieties of Fountains and Arbors, but the great Parterre is a ſurpriſing thing, for as it is well furniſhed with

with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaſt extent, and juſtly ſcituated to the Palace; ſo at the further end of it there is a great Mount, that face of it that looks to the Parterre is made like a Theatre all full of Fountains and Statues, the height riſing up in five ſeveral rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourſcore foot in front, and round this Mount, anſwering to the five rows into which the Theatre is divided, there goes as many Terraſſes of noble Walks, the Walls are all as cloſe covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel: the top of the Mount is ſeventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vaſt Ciſtern into which the Mill plays up the Water that muſt furniſh all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finiſhed when I was there, but when all is finiſhed this place will look like an inchanted Iſland. The freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies ſo even, it is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by rows of Trees incloſing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compaſs, that it cannot be denied that here

is a vaſt extent of Soil above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the lovelieſt ſpots in all *England* or *France*, it hath all the ſweetneſs that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains cauſe a freſhneſs of Air here, that makes the Soil the moſt deſirable place to live in that can be ſeen, if the Government were not ſo exceſſively ſevere, that there is nothing but Poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill furniſhed, that if he doth not buy proviſions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very ſevere Diet, in a Countrey that he ſhould think flowed with Milk and Honey: But I ſhall ſay more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* diſcharges it ſelf in the River *Teſine*, which runs with ſuch a force that we went thirty Miles in three hours having but one Rower, and the Water was no way ſwelled. From this we went into the Channel which *Francis* the Firſt cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are ſuch Proviſions to diſcharge the Water when it riſes to ſuch a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it ſhould be; it lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes for ſix Miles together one ſees the Line ſo exact that there is not the leaſt crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the beſt advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long deſcription of this great City, which is one of the nobleſt in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce either by Sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very ſmall State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a wealth that is ſurprizing: It pays for an Eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand Souldiers effectively in it, ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe hands the Government is Lodged: But the vaſtneſs of the Town, the Nobleneſs of the Buildings, and above all the ſurprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents are ſigns of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the Vaſtneſs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, St. *Peters* it ſelf not excepted. It is all Marble; both Pavement, and Walls, both outſide and inſide, and on the top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vaſteſt number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. It is true the Statues in ſome of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themſelves; the Frontiſpiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and bas reliefs; and the Pillars, of which there are four Rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the top for ſo many Statues; and tho one would think this Church ſo full of Sta-

tues, that almoſt every Saint hath his Statue, yet I was aſſured they wanted ſeven thouſand to finiſh the deſign, but theſe muſt chiefly belong to the Frontiſpiece: the Church as I could meaſure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the Quire is Wainſcotted and carved in ſo extraordinary a manner, that I never ſaw Paſſion ſo well expreſſed in Wood; it contains ſixty Stalls, and they have almoſt all the Hiſtories of the Golpel reprinted in them. Juſt under the *Cupulo* lies S. *Carlo's* body, as I was told, in a great caſe of Cryſtal of vaſt value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holy-days, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superſtition of the people for his Body, is ſuch, that on a Holy-day one runs a hazzard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His Canonization coſt the Town a hundred thouſand Crowns, they pretend they have Miracles too, for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromee*; but they will not ſet about his Canonization, the price is ſo high. The Plate and other Preſents made to St. *Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; ſome Services for the Altar are all of Gold, ſome very Maſſie and ſet with Jewels, others ſo finely wrought that the faſhion is thought equal to the value of the Mettle; the Habits and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit, and according to the Anſwer that a Fryar made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him how they came

came to qualifie one of the worſt of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an Inſcription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never man deſerved of a Town this Title ſo juſtly as Cardinal *Borromee* did, for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced ſo great a man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it, for as there have been, ſince that time, two Cardinals of that Family, ſo it is eſteemed a *Caſa Santa*; and every time that it produces an Eccleſiaſtick of any conſiderable Merit, he is ſure, if he lives to it, to be raiſed to this Arch-Biſhoprick, for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might diſpoſe the State to a Rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and conſecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finiſhed yet for ſome Ages, that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian* Prieſts never to finiſh a great deſign, that ſo by keeping it ſtill in an unfiniſht Eſtate, they may be always drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superſtition of the people. He built the Arch-Biſhops Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a Colledge for the *Switzers*, ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and many Convents. In ſhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* ſtrike one with amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every

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ry thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all ſigns both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superſtition, but their Libraries, not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous things; the Room is often fine, and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen, and the ignorance of the Prieſts, both Secular and Regular, is ſuch, that no man that hath not had an occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The Convent of St. *Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richeſt, it is compoſed of Canons Regular; called in *Italy* the Order of Mount *Olive*, or *Olivetan*; that of the *Barnabites* is extream rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confeſſional all inlaid with Agates of different colours, finely ſpotted Marbles, and of *Lapis Lazulis* that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. St. *Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a Pulpit of the ſame form with that of the *Barnabites*. The *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and St. *Sebaſtians* are very rich. The Cittadel is too well known to need a deſcription, it is very regularly built, and is a moſt effectual reſtraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not ſtand out againſt a good Army three days; for it is ſo little, and ſo full of Buildings, that it could not reſiſt a ſhower of Bombs. The Hoſpital is indeed a Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thouſand Crowns Revenue: the old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot ſquare, and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court,

Court, one in every Stage according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door: It is true these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open space that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only supported by Pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both sides, as is Ordinary in all Hospitals; but there are also a great many Chambers, in which persons whose condition was formerly distinguished are treated with a particular care. There is an out-house which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hospital, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an Octangular Chappel, so contrived that the sick from all their Beds may see the elevation of the Host, and adore it: This House is for the Plague or for infectious Feavers, and the Sick that want a freer Air, are also removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian* Office, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the Musick which is much simpler, and in some other Rites: the

Gospel

Goſpel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, ſo that it may be heard by all the people, tho this is needleſs, ſince it is read in a language that they do not underſtand: when they go to ſay high Maſs, the Prieſts come from the high Altar to the lower end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by ſome of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there, I heard a Capucin Preach here: It was the firſt Sermon I heard in *Italy*, and I was much ſurprized at many Comical expreſſions and geſtures, but moſt of all with the concluſion; for there being in all the Pulpits of *Italy* a Crucifix on the ſide of the Pulpit towards the Altar; he, after a long addreſs to it, at laſt in a forced tranſport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kiſſed it: But I obſerved that before he kiſſed it; he ſeeing ſome duſt on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was juſt under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender careſs, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himſelf and them, yet I ſaw none ſhed. But if the Sermon in the morning ſurprized me, I wondred no leſs at two diſcourſes that I heard in one Church, at the ſame time, in the afternoon: for there were two Bodies of Men ſet down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Laymen in ordinary habits were entertaining them with diſcourſes of Religion in a Catechetical ſtile: Theſe were Confrairies, and thoſe were ſome of the more devout that inſtructed the reſt. This I never ſaw any where elſe, ſo I do

do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not ſpeak Latin, and the *Italian* there is ſo different from the true *Tuſcan* which I only knew, that I could not underſtand him when he was ingaged in a long diſcourſe, ſo I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been ſome inſtitution of Cardinal *Borromees*. The *Ambroſian* Library founded by Cardinal *Frederick Borromee* is a very noble Room and well furniſhed, only it is too full of School-men and Canoniſts, which are the chief Studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more ſolid and uſeful Learning. One part of the diſpoſition of a Room was pleaſant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent diſtance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Deſk with an Eſcritoire that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it, ſo that every Man finds tools here for ſuch extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuſcripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint *Charles*. I ſaw ſome fragments of *Latin* Bibles, but none ſeemed to be above ſix hundred years old, there are alſo ſome fragments of Saint *Ambroſe*'s Works, and of Saint *Jerom*'s Epiſtles that are of the ſame antiquity. I was ſorry not to find Saint *Ambroſe*'s Works intire, that I might have ſeen whether the Books of the Sacraments are aſcribed to him in ancient Copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is

true

true in these Books the Doctrine of a sort of a corporal presence is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those Citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal words of the Prayer of Consecration in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenly words? For the Priest saith, but whereas in the present Canon of the Mass, the Prayer of Consecration is for a good part of it very near in the same words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference, for in the Canon they now pray that the Hosty may be to them the Body and Blood of Christ, (which by the way doth not agree too well with the Notion of Transubstantiation, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*:) whereas in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Hosty is said to be the Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ: here is the Language of the whole Church of that time, and in the most important part of the Divine Office, which signifieth more to me than a thousand Quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private Opinions: but this is the voice of the whole Body in its Addresses to God: and it seems the Church of *Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the Corporal Presence was received, saw that this Prayer of Consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the Office. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient

Offices,

Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of St. *Germains* that seemed older than the times of *Charles* the Great; so I found none of any great Antiquity in all *Italy*: Those publish-ed by Cardinal *Bona*, and since by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the most ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient *Roman* Offices now to be seen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity; which made me conclude that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that she hath made in Divine Matters, or that they were so well kept, that Hereticks were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambrosian* Library, there is in it a Manuscript of great Antiquity, tho not of such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus*'s Translation of *Josephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count *Mascado* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius*'s time, which is the same sort of writing with the Manuscript of *Ruffinus*, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time, and this is the most valuable, tho the least known Curiosity in the whole Library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works

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in Cryſtal that are to be ſeen in *Milan*; the greateſt quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further inlargement. It is certain the *Alps* have much Wealth ſhut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to ſearch for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except *Iron* Mines; yet by the colourings, that in many places, the Fountains make, as they run along the Rocks, one ſees cauſe to believe that there are Mines and Minerals ſhut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The laſt Curioſity that I ſhall mention of the Town of *Milan* is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of Ore, in which there is both *Gold* and *Silver* and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where by an unſeen Spring, a Ball, after it hath rowled down through many winding deſcents, is thrown up, and ſo it ſeems to be a perpetual motion, this is done in ſeveral forms, and it is well enough diſguiſed to deceive the Vulgar. Many motions of little Animals that run about by Springs are alſo very pretty. There is a *Loadſtone* of a vaſt force that carries a great Chain: There is alſo a monſtrous Child that was lately born in the Hoſpital, which is preſerved in Spirit of Wine: it is double below, it hath one breaſt and neck, two pair of ears, a

vaſt

vaſt head and but one face. As for the Buildings in *Milan* they are big and ſubſtantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture: The Governours Palace hath ſome noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built by a Banker. There is one inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the pleaſure that one can find in it: they have no Glaſs-windows, ſo that one is either expoſed to the Air, or ſhut up in a Dungeon: and this is ſo univerſal, that there is not one Houſe of ten that hath Glaſs in their Windows: the ſame defect is in *Florence*, beſides all the ſmall Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their Poverty: For what by the oppreſſion of their Government, what by the no leſs ſqueezing oppreſſion of their Prieſts, who drain all the reſt of their Wealth that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the people are here reduced to a Poverty that cannot be eaſily believed by one that ſees the Wealth that is in their Churches; and this is going on ſo conſtantly in *Milan*, that it is ſcarce accountable from whence ſo vaſt a Treaſure can be found; but Purgatory is a Fond not eaſily exhauſted. The Wealth of the *Milaneſes* conſiſts chiefly in their Silks, and that Trade falls ſo mightily by the vaſt Importations that the *Eaſt-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very ſenſibly, and languiſhes extreamly by the great fall that is in the Silk-Trade: There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their Coaches,

Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Your.

Poſtſcript.

In the account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary perſon that is there, Miſtriſs *Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-houſe*, ſhe loſt her ſight when ſhe was but a year old, by being too near a ſtove that was very hot: There reſts in the upper part of her eye ſo much ſight, that ſhe diſtinguiſhes day from night: and when any perſon ſtands between her and the light, ſhe will diſtinguiſh by the head and its dreſs a Man from a Woman, but when ſhe turns down her eyes ſhe ſees nothing: ſhe hath a vaſt Memory; beſides the *French* that is her natural Language, ſhe ſpeaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*, ſhe hath all the *Pſalms* by heart in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: She underſtands the Old Philoſophy well, and is now ſtudying the New: She hath ſtudied the Body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready: On all which Matters I had long converſations with her; ſhe not only ſings well, but ſhe plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told ſhe played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is moſt of all, is, ſhe writes legibly: In order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man, and hath ſuch Tenderneſs for her, that he furniſheth

niſheth her with Maſters of all ſorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and ſhe by feeling the Characters formed ſuch an Idea of them, that ſhe writes with a Crayon ſo diſtinctly, that her writing can be well read, of which I have ſeveral Eſſaies. I ſaw her write, ſhe doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; ſhe hath a Machine that holds the paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a perſon of extraordinary Devotion, great reſignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The Preceptor that the Father kept in the Houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came firſt to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he ſpoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he Preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good accent: He alſo began to ſtudy *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he Preacht in *Italian*; his Accent was good, and his Stile florid, which was very extraordinary, for the *Italian* Language is not ſpoken in *Geneva*, tho' the race of the *Italians* do keep up ſtill an *Italian* Church there.

The

THE THIRD LETTER.

Florence, the 5*th* of *November*.

I Have now another Month over my head ſince I writ laſt to you, and ſo I know you expect an Account of the moſt conſiderable things that have occurred to me ſince my laſt from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan* we paſt through *Lodi* a miſerable Garriſon, tho' a Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as thoſe of the other Princes of *Italy*, ſhew that they are not very apprehenſive of one another; and when one paſſes through thoſe places, which are repreſented in Hiſtory as places of great ſtrength, capable of reſiſting a long Siege, he muſt acknowledge that the ſight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was ſo long the ſeat of War could not ſtand out againſt a good Army now for ſo many days, as it did then for years. The Garriſon of *Crema* which is the firſt of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*,

di, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate ſends Podeſta's much like the Bailifs of the *Switzers*, who order the Juſtice and the Civil Government of the Juriſdiction aſſigned them: There is alſo a Captain General who hath the Military Authority in his hands; and theſe two are checks upon one another, as the Baſſa's and the Cadi's are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema* the Town is ſo ſmall that both theſe are in one perſon. We were there in the time of the Fair, Linnen Cloath and Cheeſe, (which tho' it goes by the name of *Parmeſan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Ingredients of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podeſta* appeared very extraordinary, for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches in which he and his Lady ride were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-Coach, all the outſide black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowred with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Breſcia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth, here they make the beſt Barrils for Piſtols and Muskets of all *Italy*: there are great Iron works near it: but the War with the *Turk* had occaſioned an order that none might be ſold without a permiſſion from *Venice*: They are building a Noble Dom at *Beſcia*: I was ſhewed a Nunery there, which is now under a great diſgrace, ſome years ago a new Biſhop coming thither, began with the Viſitation of

that

that Nunnery: he diſcovered two Vaults, by one, men came ordinarily into it: and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in of Childbed: when he was examining the Nuns ſeverely concerning thoſe Vaults, ſome of them told him, that his own Prieſts did much worſe: He ſhut up the Nuns, ſo that thoſe who are Profeſſed live ſtill there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the houſe will ſoon come to an end: The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it abſolutely. Both here and in *Crema* the Towns have begun a Complement within theſe laſt ten or twelve years to their *Podeſta*'s, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vaſt charge, for they erect Statues to their *Podeſta*'s: and this being once begun, muſt be carried on: otherwiſe thoſe to whom the like honour is not done will reſent it as a high affront, and the Revenges of the Noble *Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podeſta* is very ancient, for in the Roman times, the chief Magiſtrates of the leſſer Towns was called the *Poteſtas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal Fidenarum Gabiorumve eſſe poteſtas.*

From *Breſcia* the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted, for as all the way from *Milan* to *Breſcia* is as one Garden, ſo here on the one ſide we come under the Mountains, and we paſs by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadeſt, is twenty Miles broad: The Miles indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream ſhort, for I walkt often four

four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many Rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Mony going, that it is not easie here to change a Pistol, without taking their Coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small States to retain still a Coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheater, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved, for tho' most of the great stones of the outside are pickt out: yet the great sloping Vault on which the rows of the seats are laid, is entire, the rows of the seats are also intire, they are forty rows, every row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a man sits conveniently in them, under the feet of those of the higher row; and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheater* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the Vaults: under the rows of seats were the stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the Company: The thickness of the building, from the outward Wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity, is so often and so

copiously described that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms all furnisht with Antiquities and Rarities: There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the honour of M. *Crassus*: There is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman Weights with their Instruments for their Sacrifices, there are many Curiosities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese*'s hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona* that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many Ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza* which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*, for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here than I saw it any other Place of *Italy*: But the Wine is not good, for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joyns; but the Soil is too Rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry ground: There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary Wine which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary, it is not made till Christmass, and from thence it carries the name of Holy Wine, and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not marked

marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a Groat an *Engliſh* quart, I wondred that they did not Trade with it. All the Cattel of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bologneſe*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the Reaſons of theſe things: it is certain Hogs-Fleſh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the Truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occaſion this or not, I know not, the Husks of the preſſed Grapes is alſo a mighty nouriſhment to them; but Cattel of that Grayiſh Colour are certainly weaker: The carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them, and this is a very hard Work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever ſo little, for the ground being quite level, and there being no raiſed high-waies or Cauſe-waies, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ſtill more of its Ancient liberty reſerved than any of theſe Towns, as *Padua* hath leſs, for it delivered it ſelf to the *Venetians*, whereas the other diſputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one ſees the Marks of liberty in *Vincenza* in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: They have a Modern Theater made in imitation of the Ancient *Roman* Theaters. Count *Valarano's* Garden at the Port of *Verona*, is the fineſt thing of the Town, there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, ſome as big as a mans body, but thoſe are covered all the Winter long, for in this appears the ſenſible difference of

Lombardy from those parts of *Italy* that lye to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the breeses that blow sometimes so sharp from the Alps, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French* Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood so finely painted that I thought the head was Wax, it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the morning all people run to it and said their Prayers to it, and kissed the ground before it with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* is is eighteen miles to *Padua* all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing, the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things except Mony, that a little Mony goes a great Way. The Universty

here

here, tho' ſo much ſupported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty Profeſſors, yet ſinks extreamly: there are no men of any great fame now in it: and the quarrels among the ſtudents have driven away moſt of the ſtrangers that uſed to come and ſtudy here, for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad here after Sun ſet: The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho the Nobility of *Padua* is almoſt quite ruined, yet the beauty of their Ancient Palaces ſhews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all thoſe conquered Cities continue ſtill among them, for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both comes under the Bando by this means, and the Confiſcation goes to the Senate. At ſome times of Grace when the Senate wants money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty perſons are incredible. In *Vincenza* and the Country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by *Monſieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Profeſſor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua* and of the other Towns ſeem not to ſee what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the ſame mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thouſand Ducats Revenue to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral times

under the bando: But their jealouſies and their Revenges are purſued by them with ſo much vigor, that when theſe are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater, tho' nothing but the outward Wall ſtands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compaſs; it lies almoſt round: The publick Hall is the Nobleſt of *Italy*: The Dome is an Antient and Mean Building: But the Church of St. *Anthony*, eſpecially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint lies, is one of the beſt pieces of Modern Sculpture: for round the Chappel the chief Miracles in the Legend of that Saint are repreſented in *Mezzo Rilievo*, in a very ſurprizing Manner: The Devotion that is paid to this Saint, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his ſake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the higheſt pitch of Blaſphemy that can be imagined, *Exaudit*, ſpeaking of the Saint, *quos nos audit & ipſe Deus*, he hears thoſe whom God himſelf doth not hear. St. *Juſtina* is a Church ſo well ordered within, the Architecture is ſo beautiful, it is ſo well inlightned, and the *Cupulos* are ſo advantageouſly placed, that if the outſide anſwered the inſide, it would be one of the beſt Churches of *Italy*, but the Building is of Brick,

and

and it hath no Frontiſpiece, there are many new Altars made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abby hath a hundred thouſand Ducats of Revenue, and ſo by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Biſhop here, he ſeems to ſet St. *Carlo* before him as his Pattern, he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the Secular Prieſts; he lives in a conſtant Diſcipline himſelf, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill Terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and ſo allow themſelves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all Reſpects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live eaſie and happy, if they could be ſo wiſe as to give over their Quarrels, but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppreſs their Tenants ſo ſeverely, that the Peaſants live moſt miſerably, yet on all hands round about them, the oppreſſions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for eaſe, whereas on the contrary, the Miſeries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly thoſe of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ſend in an increaſe of People among them, ſo that they are well ſtockt with People, but the *Venetians* are ſo jealous of their Subjects underſtanding Military matters, which may diſpoſe them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars, this jealouſie is the true ground of that Maxim, tho another is pretended that is more plauſible, which is, their care of

their own people, whom they ſtudy to preſerve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather than expoſe their Subjects. It is certain a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate, for the Garriſons and Fortifications are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great Towns could eaſily ſhake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that ſtill reign among them, by which one Party would chuſe rather to expoſe the other to the rigor of the Inquiſitors, than concur with them in aſſerting their Liberty, and the Inquiſitors in ſuch Caſes proceed ſo ſecretly, and yet ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a Secret of ſuch conſequence, and the oppreſſed Nobility of thoſe States retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as ſecure in thoſe Conqueſts, as if they had many ſtrong Cittadels and numerous Garriſons ſpread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the Noble *Venetians* on both ſides of the River, built with ſo great a variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another, there is alſo the like diverſity in the laying out of their Gardens, and here they retire during the hot Months, and ſome allow themſelves all the Exceſſes of diſſolute liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we paſs for five or ſix Miles on the Lagunes or ſhallows to *Venice*, theſe ſhallows

ſink

ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving *Venice* ſtill an Iſland, is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they uſe all poſſible induſtry to cleanſe the Channels of their Lagunes, and keep them full of water: and yet many think that the Water hath failed ſo much in this laſt Age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame rate, within an Age or two more *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the moſt ſurprizing ſight in the whole World, to ſee ſo vaſt a City, ſcituated thus in the Sea and ſuch a number of Iſlands ſo united together by Bridges brought to ſuch a regular figure, the *Pilotty* ſupplying the want of Earth to Build on, and all ſo Nobly Built, which is of all the things that one can ſee the moſt amazing. And tho this Republick is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great loſſes they have ſuffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaſt plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to deſcribe neither the Church nor the Palace of S. *Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digreſſion to be made for them, the Painting of the Walls and the roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vaſt value: Here I ſaw that Story of Pope *Alexander* the III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The nobleneſs of the Stair-caſes, the riches of the Halls, and the beauty of the whole

building, are much prejudiced by the beastlineſs of thoſe that walk along, and that leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common Houſe of Office, than ſo Noble a Palace: And the great Hall, where the whole Body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that Anſwers to ſuch an Aſſembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of ſo Glorious a Body. When the two ſides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the moſt hid, it will be one of the glorioueſt Palaces that the World can ſhew. The two ſides that are moſt ſeen, the one facing the ſquare of St. *Mark*, and the other the great Canale, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble; but the War of *Candy* put a ſtop to the building. St. *Mark's* Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vaſt Riches of the building, it is dark and low, but the Pavement is ſo rich a Moſaick, and the whole Roof is alſo Moſaick; the outſide, and inſide, are of ſuch excellent Marble, the frontiſpiece is adorned with ſo many Pillars of *Porphiry* and *Jaſper*, and above all with the four Horſes of *Corinthian* Braſs, that *Tirridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Conſtantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is ſtill very bright, that when all this is conſidered one doth no where ſee ſo much coſt brought together. I did not ſee the Goſpel of St.

Mark

Mark, which is one of the valuableſt things of the Treaſure; but they do not now open it to ſtrangers, yet Doctor *Grandi*, a famous Phyſitian there, told me that, by a particular order, he was ſuffered to open it; he told me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the Characters were ſo worn out, that tho he could diſcern the ends of ſome Letters, he could not ſee enough to help him to diſtinguiſh them or to know whether the *M. S.* was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not ſay one word of the Arſenal, for as I ſaw it in its worſt State, the War that is now on foot having diſfurniſhed a great deal of it, ſo it hath been often deſcribed, and it is known to be the Nobleſt Magazine, the beſt ordered, and of the greateſt variety that is in the whole World: it's true it is all that this State hath, ſo that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie ſpread up and down in the different places of their Dominions were gathered together, they would make a much greater ſhew. The Nobleſt Convent of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called St. *John*, and St. *Paul*, the Church, and Chappels are vaſtly Rich: There is one of St. *Luke*'s *Madona*'s here as they pretend; the Dormitory is very great; the Room for the Library, and every thing in it, except the Books, is extream fine. But St. *George*, which is a Convent of the *Benedictines* in an Iſle intirely poſſeſſed by them over againſt the St. *Marks* ſquare, is much the richeſt: the Church is well contrived and well adorned: and not only the

whole

whole Building is very magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore*, and the *Salute* are two Noble Churches that are the Effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague, the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: ſo naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son: It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, ſo no wonder if the Architecture, and the Riches exceed that which is more Ancient. The School of Saint *Roch*, and the Chappel, and Hall, are full of great pieces of Tintorets: a *Cena* of *Paulo Veroneſe* in the Refectory of St. *George*, and the Picture of St. *Peter* the Martyr of *Titians*, are the moſt celebrated pieces of *Venice*: Duke *Peſaro*'s Tomb in the Frairy is the Nobleſt I ever ſaw. But if the Riches of all the Convents, and the Pariſh Churches of *Venice* amazed me, the Fronts eſpecially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with ſeveral Statues; the meanneſs of the Library of St. *Mark* did no leſs ſurprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vaſt value, and the whole Roof of the Library is compoſed of ſeveral pieces of the greateſt Maſters put in ſeveral Frames: but the Library hath nothing anſwerable to the Riches of the Caſe, for the *Greek* Manuſcripts are all Modern, I turned over a great many, and ſaw none above five hundred years old:

I was indeed told that the laſt Library-keeper was accuſed for having conveyed away many of their Manuſcripts; and that four years ago being clapt in Priſon for this by the Inquiſitors, he to prevent further ſeverities, poiſoned himſelf. I went to the Convent of the *Servi*, but I found Father *Paul* was not in ſuch conſideration there, as he is elſewhere: I asked for his Tomb, but they made no acount of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was; it is true, the perſon to whom I was r commend ed was not in *Venice*, ſo perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great diſcourſe wit h ſome at *Venice* concerning the Memorials out of which *F. Paul* drew his Hiſtory, which are no doubt all preſerved with great care in their Archives, and ſince the Tranſactions of the Council of *Trent*, as they are of great importance, ſo they are become now much controverted by the different relations that *F. Paul*, and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have given the World of that Matter; the only way to put an end to all diſputes in matter of fact, is to Print the Originals themſelves: A Perſon of great credit at *Venice* promiſed to me to do his utmoſt, to get that propoſition ſet on foot, tho the great exactnes that the government there hath always affected as to the matter of their Archives, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any ſuch ſearch. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long converſation that I had with a perſon of great eminence at *Venice*, that

that as he was long at *Conſtantinople*, ſo was Learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*, he told me he was at *Conſtantinople*, when the inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church was ſet on foot, occaſioned by the famous Diſpute between Mr. *Arnaud* and Mr. *Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman* Catholick was dealt with to aſſiſt in that buſineſs; but being a Man of great honour and ſincerity he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad opinion of the *Greeks*, and he told me that none of their Prieſts were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of *Rome*, than thoſe that were bred up at *Rome*; for they, to free themſelves of the prejudices that their Countreymen are apt to conceive againſt them, becauſe of their education among the *Latines*, do affect to ſhew an oppoſition to the *Latin* Church beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was ſuch, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, ſo a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the Ambaſſadors that come from the *Weſt*, would prevail with them to ſign any thing that could be deſired of them: He added one thing, that tho' he firmly believed Tranſubſtantiation himſelf, he did not think they believed it; let them ſay what they pleaſed themſelves, he took his meaſures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they ſaid. For their Rites not being changed now for a great many Ages

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were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them, therefore he concluded that since they did not adore the Sacrament after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the corporal presence, and was of a force well able to balance all their subscriptions: He told me he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any Manuscript, and he looked on adoration as such a necessary consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick of *Paris* told me, he said the Originals of those Attestations were in too exact and too correct a stile to have been formed in *Greece*, he assured me they were penned at *Paris* by one that was a Master of the purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name those persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua* according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary vertue and piety, that she is spo-

ſpoken of as a Saint, ſhe died ſome months before I came to *Venice*: ſhe was of the Noble Family of the *Cornara's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are Saint *Maurice*, Saint *Paul* and *Calle*, who are deſcended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the diſtinction of her Familie was *Piſcopia*. Her extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemiſh of her deſcent of the one ſide, for tho the *Cornara's* reckon themſelves a ſize of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter ſo long that he had ſome Children by her, at laſt for their ſakes Married the Mother, and paid a conſiderable Fine to ſave the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children muſt have undergone, by reaſon of the meanneſs of the Mothers birth. The *Cornara's* carry it ſo high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themſelves Nuns, becauſe they thought their own name was ſo Noble that they could not induce themſelves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Familie married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is alſo one of the Ancienteſt Families, that was extream Rich, and ſhe had ſcarce any portion at all, for the *Cornara's* are now very low, ſome of their Friends came to wiſh them joy of ſo advantagious a match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wiſh the *Sagredo* joy, ſince they thought the advantage was wholly of their ſide.

There

There are of the truely ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining, and even among theſe there are twelve that are thought ſuperior to the reſt in Rank: Since the firſt formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genua* they Conferred that honour on thirty Families: ſeveral of their Generals have had that honour given them as a Reward of their ſervice: They have alſo offered this honour to ſome Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*, and *Henry* the third, when he came through *Venice* from *Poland* to take poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, went and ſate among them, and drew his Ballot as a Noble *Venetian*: many Popes have procured this honour for their Nephews: Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and ſo it ſtuck at this. But during the War of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thouſand Crowns a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble *Venetians*, was, that the Queen Mother of *France*, moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators before the laſt War of *Candy*, they were free; and the conſiderations were either great ſervices, or the great dignity of thoſe on whom they beſtowed this Honour. Thoſe new Families are divided into thoſe that are called *Ducal* Families, and thoſe that were called ſimply new Fa-

Families, the reaſon of the former Deſignation is not rightly underſtood; but one that knew all that related to that Conſtitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the reaſon of it, is, that all thoſe Families that are called *Ducal*, have had the Dukedom in their Houſe: But as all the old Families have had the ſame honour, though they carry not that Title, ſo ſome of the new Families have alſo had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others ſay that thoſe Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes, without their being firſt Procurators of S. *Mark*, or that have been choſen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and ſeventy years there was a Combination made among thoſe new Families to preſerve the Dukedom ſtill among them: For the Old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entred into mutual Ingagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true, they made the Dukedome ſometimes fall on ſome of the new Families that were not of this Aſſociation; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were ſhut out, and that it appeared they bore the chief ſway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquiſitors did all they could to break it, or at leaſt to hide it, ſo that

never

I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the year 1620. when *Memmio* was choſen Duke, who was deſcended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was ſo great a Mortification to the caſe *Ducale*, that one of them (*Venniero*) hanged himſelf, by the Rage to which that Diſgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the *Bembo*'s, two of the *Cornaro*'s, and one of the *Contarini*'s, and the preſent Prince of the *Juſtiniani*, the firſt of that Family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the Antient Families: So that this Faction is now ſo entirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in *Venice* it ſelf, that it was ever amongſt them: and thus Time and other Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Induſtry could produce: For that which all the Indeavours of the Inquiſitors could not compaſs, was brought about of it ſelf. It is true the Factions in *Venice*, tho violent enough in the Perſons of thoſe who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Poſterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they value themſelves as a ſize of Men much above the *Venetians*, whom they deſpiſe as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet ſhewed how little they underſtood, with all their vivacity, to conduct their State, ſince by their domeſtick Heats they loſt their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the Wiſdom ſtill to preſerve

ſerve. This Faction of the Caſe *Ducal* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for they loſt more than they got by it: for the ancient Families in revenge ſet themſeves againſt them, and excluded them from all the other advantagious Employments of the State: For the others being only united in that ſingle point relating to the Dukedome, the ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other Competitions they ſet up always ſuch Competitors againſt the Pretenders that were of the Ducal Families, that were much more eſteemed than theſe were, ſo that they ſhut them out of all the beſt Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been ſtill kept up, might in concluſion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a wonder to ſee the dignity of the Duke ſo much courted, for he is only a Priſoner of State tied up to ſuch Rules, ſo ſeverely reſtrained and ſhut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of St. *Mark*, that it is not ſtrange to ſee ſome of the greateſt Families, in particular the *Cornara's* decline it. All the Family, if ever ſo numerous, muſt retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is choſen out of it, only one that is next to him of Kin ſits ſtill, but without a Vote: And the only real Priviledge that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himſelf, without communicating with the *Savii*, propoſe Matters, either to the Council of ten, to the Senate, or to the great Council; whereas all other Propoſitions muſt be firſt offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a ſort of Tribunitian

nitian Power to reject what they diſlike, and tho' they cannot hinder the Duke to make a Propoſition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it: They can hinder it to be voted, and after it is voted they can ſuſpend the execution of it till it is examined over again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit muſt reſolve to indure many of theſe Afflictions, and it is certain that the *Savii* do ſometimes affect to ſhew the greatneſs of their Authority, and exerciſe a ſort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propoſitions when they intend to humble thoſe that make them. Yet the greateſt part of the beſt Families court this Honour of Dukedom extreamly; when *Sagredo* was upon the point of being choſen Duke, there was ſo violent an outcry againſt it over all *Venice*, becauſe of the diſgrace, that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a Prince whoſe Noſe had miſcarried in ſome unfortunate diſorders, the Senate complied ſo far with this Averſion that the people teſtified, that tho' the Inquiſitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the deſign for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was ſo much diſguſted, that he retired to a houſe he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which time of his retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memoirs Ottomaniche*, which is Printed, and he is accounted the beſt of all their Modern Authors: The other was Memoires of the Government, and Hiſtory of *Venice*, which hath

hath never been Printed; and ſome ſay it is too ſincere, and too particular, ſo that it is thought it will be reſerved among their Archives. It hath been a ſort of Maxime now for ſome time not to chuſe a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutcheſs goes high, and hath coſt above a hundred thouſand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood, and tho the *Cornara*'s have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of ſome Principalities, that their Anceſtors had in the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, have alſo affected thoſe vain Titles: But the Inquiſitors have long ago obliged them to lay aſide all thoſe high Titles, and ſuch of them as boaſt too much of their Blood, find the diſlike which that brings on them very ſenſibly; for whenſoever they pretend to any great Imployments, they find themſelves always excluded. When an Election of Ambaſſadors was propoſed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in thoſe terms, that the Council muſt chuſe one of its Principal Members for ſuch an Employment: But becauſe this looked like a term of diſtinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and inſtead of Principal, they uſe now the term Honourable, which comprehends the whole body of their Nobility, without any diſtinction. It is at *Venice* in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title, and

and particular honours done him, whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under theſe big words there is lodged only a light ſhadow of Authority; for their Biſhop has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the Duke is called their Prince, and his ſerenity, and hath his Name ſtampt upon their Coin, ſo the *Patriarch* with all this high Title hath really no Authority: For not only Saint *Mark*'s Church is intirely exempted from his juriſdiction, and is immediately ſubject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all other things ſo ſubject to the Senate, and ſo regulated by them, that he hath no more power than they are pleaſed to allow him: ſo that the Senate is as really the Supream Governour over all perſons, and in all Cauſes, as the Kings of *England* have pretended to be in their own Dominions ſince the Reformation: But beſides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary ſort of Exemption, and are a ſort of a Body like a Presbytery independent of the Biſhop: The Curats are choſen by the Inhabitants of every Pariſh, and this makes that no Noble *Venetian* is ſuffered to pretend to any Curacy, for they think it below that dignity to ſuffer one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told the manner of thoſe Elections was the moſt ſcandalous thing poſſible, for the ſeveral Candidates appear on the day of Election, and ſet out their own Merits, and defame the other pretenders in the fowleſt language, and in the moſt ſcurrilous manner imaginable;

imaginable; the ſecrets of all their Lives are publiſht in moſt reproachful Terms, and nothing is ſo abject and ridiculous that is not put in practice on thoſe occaſions, There is a ſort of an Aſſociation among the Curates for judging of their common concerns, and ſome of the Laity of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt in thoſe Courts, ſo that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is ſo undecently practiſed by moſt ſorts of people at *Venice*, extends it ſelf to the Clergy to ſuch a degree, that the Ignorance and Vice ſeem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet thoſe appear here in a much more conſpicuous manner than elſewhere, and upon theſe popular Elections all comes out. The Nuns of *Venice* have been under much ſcandal for a great while, there are ſome Monaſteries that are as famous for their ſtrictneſs and exactneſs to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly thoſe of St. *Zachary* and Saint *Laurence*, where none but noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not ſo much as pretended that they have retired for devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly that they might not be too great a charge to their Family: They are not vailed, their Neck and Breaſt is bare, and they receive much Company: But that which I ſaw was in a publick Room, in which there were many Grills for ſeveral Parlors, ſo that the Converſation is very confuſed, for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the *Italians* ſpeaking generally very loud, the noiſe of ſo many loud tal-

Talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns Talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a Liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses, but the Nuns of St. *Laurence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble *Venetians* who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed and ordered the Patriark to desist. There is no Christian State in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick Councels so much as the *Venetians*, for as a Noble *Venetian* that goes into Orders, looses thereby his right of going to Vote in the great Councel, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family must during their Lives withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all Employments: And by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great Consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the Inquisitors should do nothing but in the Presence of such as should be Deputed by the Senate to be the Witnesses of their Proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but

when they think fit, or will not ſtay longer than they are pleaſed with their Proceedings; ſo that either their abſence or their withdrawing diſſolves the Court: for a Citation cannot be made, a Witneſs cannot be examined, nor the leaſt point of Form carried on if the Deputies of the Senate are not preſent: and thus it is, tho there is a Court of Inquiſition at *Venice*, yet there is ſcarce any Perſon brought into trouble by it, and there are many of the Proteſtant Religion that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a Congregation of them there that hath their Exerciſes of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no trouble. It is true, the Hoſt not being carried about in Proceſſion, but ſecretly by the Prieſts to the Sick, makes that this uneaſie Diſcrimination of Proteſtant and Papiſt doth not offer it ſelf here as in other places, for the ſtraitneſs of the Streets, and the Chanels through which one muſt go almoſt every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elſewhere, and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole Territory tho the like Reaſon doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of Religion to a ſcandal and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them, ſo that all that vaſt Pomp in their Ceremonies and wealth in their Churches is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Familics, than that Superſtition hath here ſuch a power over the Spirtts of the people as it hath

hath elſewhere: for the Atheiſm that is receieved by many here, is the dulleſt and courſeſt thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are ſo generally corrupted in their Morals, and ſo given up to a moſt ſupine ignorance of all ſort of Knowledge, that a man cannot eaſily imagine to what a height this is grown, and for Military Courage there is ſcarce ſo much as the Ambition of being thought brave, remaining among the greater part of them. It ſeemed to me a ſtrange thing to ſee the *Broglio* ſo full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was ſo glorious a War on foot with the *Turks*, but inſtead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly for them to go and hazard it when a little Money can hire Strangers that do it on ſuch eaſie Terms, and thus their Arms are in the hands of Strangers, while they ſtay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and diſſolving their Spirits among their *Courtizans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years ſo much ſunk that it is very ſtrange to ſee ſo many come to a Service ſo decryed, where there is ſo little care had of the Souldiers, and ſo little regard had to the Officers: The Arrears are ſo ſlowly paid; and the Rewards are ſo ſcantly diſtributed, that if they do not change their Maxims they may come to feel this very ſinſibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike Matters, ſo the Nobility have no ſort of Ambition that way, and ſtrangers are

extreamly diſguſted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their ſafety, for the feebleneſs of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preſerves them from the apprehenſion of an Invaſion, and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, ſave them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occaſion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian* Nobility, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for ſome conſiderable time, that for the preſervation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family ſhould marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any Ambition to ſignalize themſelves or to make Families, and ſo they give way to all the Lazineſs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the beſt Services done in other States flows from the neceſſities as well as the Aſpirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whoſe Blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and neceſſities puſh them on, to acquire firſt a Reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a Myſtery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend ſo much from the active Spirits of a neceſſitous Nobility, that to lay thoſe to ſleep, they incourage them in all thoſe things that

may

may blunt and depreſs their minds, and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleaſure, when it is ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the Licentiouſneſs of unlimitted diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where Pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where the Youth have both the greateſt Wealth, and the moſt leiſure to purſue it: yet it is the place that I ever ſaw where true and innocent Pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood, in vvhich I will make a little Digreſſion that perhaps will not be unpleaſant, As for the Pleaſures of Friendſhip or Marriage they are Strangers to them, for the horrible diſtruſt, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but moſt of all in *Venice*: and tho vve have been told of ſeveral Stories of celebrated Friendſhips there, yet theſe are novv very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to ſo much ignorance, they converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the dull ſuperſtition on Holy-days in vvhich they ſtay in the Churches as long as they can, and ſo prolong the little Liberty they have of going abroad on thoſe days as Children do their hours of Play: they are not imployed in their Domeſtick Affairs, and generally they underſtand no ſort of Work, ſo that I was told that they vvere the inſipideſt Creatures, imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them down-

right lewdneſs, for they are drawn into it by the Intanglements of Amour that inveigle and lead many Perſons much farther then they imagined or intended at firſt, but in them the firſt ſtep without any preamble or preparative is down-right beaſtlineſs. And an *Italian* that knew the World well ſaid upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he ſaid their Jealouſie made them reſtrain their Daughters, and their Wives ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe Domeſtick entertainments of Wit, Converſation, and Friendſhip, that the *French* or *Engliſh* have at home: It is true thoſe he ſaid hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty but the *Italians* by their exceſſive Caution made that they had none of the true Delights of a married State; and notwithſtanding all their uneaſie Jealouſie, they were ſtill in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little when it would produce a certain ſatisfaction, then to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid Companion inſtead of a lively Friend, tho ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill moments. As for their Houſes they have nothing convenient at *Venice*, for the Architecture is almoſt all the ſame, one Stair-caſe, a Hall that runs along the body of the Houſe, and Chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Cloſets or Back-ſtairs; ſo that in Houſes that are of an exceſſive wealth, they have yet no ſort of convenience; Their Beadſteads are of Iron, becauſe of the Vermin

that

that their moiſture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay ſo many Quilts that it is a huge ſtep to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a ſlop in the Back, hard in the bottom, and the Wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix water with their Wine in their Hogſheads, ſo that for above half the year the Wine is either dead or ſower, they do not leaven their Bread, ſo that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, ſo that the Crum is as Dough, when the Cruſt is as hard as a ſtone, in all Inns they boyl Meat firſt before it is Roaſted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, ſo it is quite taſtleſs, and inſipid: And as for their Land-carriage all *Lombardy* over it is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are faſtned to the pearch, which makes them as uneaſie as a Cart: It is true they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are faſtned to a ſort of double perch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both ſides, which are ſo thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream eaſie, but thoſe are not known in *Lombardy*, and beſides this their Caleſhes are open, ſo that one is expoſed to the Sun, and duſt in Summer, and to the weather in Winter: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other ſide of the *Appenine*, yet I ſaw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an Enumeration of many of the innocent pleaſures, and conveniencies of Life, it appears that the *Venetians* purſue ſo violently forbidden Pleaſures, that they know not how to find

out that which is allowable. Their constant Practises in the *Broglio* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are pursuing for imployments of advantage, and those that are full of Wealth take a sort of Pleasure in crossing their Pretentions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the Square of St. *Mark* as the Sun, and the Weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. *Pattin* gave me of *Broglio* from the *Greek Peribolaion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their Parties, and manage all their Intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brovillons and Imbroilments are all deriv'd from the Agitations that are managed in those Walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which the length of it ingaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather then have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as is restrained to a small number, so all the best imployments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy

eight

eight Families, was in effect the ſharing their inheritance among ſo many adopted Brothers. This had been leſs infamous if they Communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of thoſe States that they have ſubdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Anceſtors not hapning to be of that Councel that aſſumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raiſed to that Honour, ſo there had been no infamy in creating ſome of them to be of the Nobility. It had been alſo brought under conſultation long ago, upon the reduction of thoſe States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not adviſable according to the maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to ſome of their chief Families, as being the ſureſt way to give ſome contentment to thoſe States, it being alſo a real as well as a cheap ſecurity, when the chief Families in thoſe Cities, were admitted to a ſhare in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true ſome of the Nobility of thoſe States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and ſo *Zambara* of *Breſcia* refuſed to accept an Honour from thoſe that had robbed his Country of its liberty, yet his poſterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this laſt ſale of honour that which was freely offered to their Anceſtor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it ſelf extreamly preſſed for mony during the

War it was at first proposed that some Families, to the number of five, might be enobled; they offering sixty thousand Ducats if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were Strangers: There was but one Person that opposed this in the Senate so it being passed there, was presented to the great Council, and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one Person opposed it with so much Vigour that though the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the *Savii* set forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he still insisted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Councel, he said they were not sure if five Persons could be found that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace, to expose the offer of Nobility first to Sale, and then to the affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold, and by this means he put by the resolution for that time: But then another method was taking that was more Honourable, and was of a more extended consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the great Councel, setting forth his Merits towards the Republick, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the service of the State: this was understood to be the asking to be made noble at that price. *Desino* said, he thought every man might be well judg-

ed worthy to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the publick: and this would in some sort maintain that Degree which would be too much debased if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain Terms: and the Nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to such a Degree. After *Labia* a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what Terms Merchants, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were that they had taken care to furnish the Republick with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers: and found out the Merchants: and at last brought dovvn the price from a hundred thousand to sixty thousand Ducats, and no other qualifications vvere required if they had Money enough: For vvhen *Correge* said to the Duke that he vvas afraid to ask that Honour for vvant of Merit, the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thousand Ducats, and vvhen the other answvered the sum vvas ready, the Duke told him that vvas a great Merit.

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At last seven or eight purchased this Honour to the great regret of *Labia*: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchases were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had inriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to Ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the Republick feel by this great promotion, is that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State and the Chancellour that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief Honour of the State there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those imployments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time.

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But if this increaſe of the Nobility hath leſſened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that ſtill preſerves a conſiderable diſtinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes againſt the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquiſitors, and the Councel of ten, but all other Crimes were judged by the Councel of forty. But in the year 1624. one of the Nobles was accuſed of *Peculat* Committed in one of their Governments, and the *Avogadore* in the pleading as he ſet forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty Judges preſent twelve only Condemned him; and fourteen Acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, ſo that his fame could not be reſtored: for the depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and the *Avogadores* (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the People; ſo it was propoſed to make a difference betvven the Nobility and the other Subjects; and ſince all Trials before the forty vvere publick, and the Trials before the ten vvere in ſecret, it ſeemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the ten: Some foreſavv that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raiſe the dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Councel of ten is alwaies compoſed, too high: therefore they oppoſed it upon this ground, that ſince the Councel of forty ſent out many orders to the Governors, it would very very much leſſen their Authority,

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if they were not to be the Judges of those who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualifie this Opposition, a Proviso was made that reserved to the Council of Forty, a power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders, but all other Accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten: and the Body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see that this did really enslave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger: since those who judge in secret have a freer Scope to their Passions, than those whose Proceedings are publick, and so are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual Restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the Hands of the Great Families: whereas those of all sorts are of the Council of Forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much ancienter than that of Ten: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still judged by the Forty: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of judging the Nobility, and the other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought their Trials to this, that whereas the Forty Judge all other Offenders with open Doors, the Nobility should be Judged the Doors being shut; which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this Power of Judging the Nobility, is now consi-

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dered as the Right of the Ten, and if any Man would go about to change it, the Inquiſitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of Sedition; and be, in that caſe, both Judge, and Party; Yet the Inquiſitors, being apprehenſive of the diſtaſte that that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a ſort of Regulation, tho it doth not amount to much; which is that the Nobility ſhall be Judged before the Councel of Ten for attrocious Caſes, ſuch as matters of State, the robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be Judged by the Forty: yet the Councel of Ten draws all caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that part of this Conſtitution, which is ſo much cenſured by Strangers: but is really both the greateſt glory, and the chief ſecurity of this Republick, which is the unlimitted power of the Inquiſitors, that extends not only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himſelf, who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him ſevere reprimends, but a ſearch his Papers, make his Proceſs, and in concluſion put him to death without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the Councell of Ten. This is the dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republick, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, and

ſo obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon ſome occaſions they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly in the known ſtory of *Foſcarin*, yet ſuch injuſtifiable ſeverities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that as the wiſdom of this body in making, and preſerving ſuch an inſtitution, cannot be enough admired, ſo the dextrous conduct of thoſe who manage this vaſt truſt ſo as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewiſe highly to be wondered at. In ſhort the inſolence, the factions, the revenges, the neceſſities and ambition that muſt needs poſſeſs a great many members of ſo vaſt a body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal convulſions, if it were not for the dread in which they all ſtand of this Court: which hath ſo many ſpies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret commerce of *Venice*: beſides the ſecret advices that are thrown in at ſo many of theſe Lyons mouths that are in ſeveral places of St. *Mark*'s Palace, within which there are boxes that are under the keys of the Inquiſitors, ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for a man to be long in any deſign againſt the State, and not be diſcovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are ſo inexorable, and ſo quick as well as ſevere in the Juſtice, that the very fear of this is ſo effectual a reſtraint, that perhaps the long preſervation of *Venice*, and of its liberty, is owing to this ſingle piece of their conſtitution

tution: and the Inquiſitors are perſons generally ſo diſtinguiſhed for their merit who muſt be all of different Families; and their Authority laſts ſo ſhort a while that the advantages of this vaſt Authority that is lodged with them are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying their ſuſpicions too far, are ſo few, that when ever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Proſperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to death for his correſpondence with *Spain*; he was not near a kin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was ſo much toucht when one of its remoteſt Branches was condemned of Treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand Crowns to have ſaved him, and by conſequence to have preſerved the Family from that infamy; but tho. this was not accepted, for he ſuffered as he well deſerved, yet it was ſo viſible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to his prejudice. But upon the firſt occaſion that offered it ſelf after that, to quarrel with proceedings of the Inquiſitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Councel was wiſer then to touch ſo ſacred a part of the Government, ſo they retain their power very intire, but they manage it with

all poſſible caution; A Foreigner that hath been many years in their Service told me that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary power that was reſted in thoſe Inquiſitors were ſleight things, in compariſon of the advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years ſpent in their Service, he ſaid, he never was ſo much as once ſent for to receive a reprimend from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confeſs it ſincerely to the Inquiſitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumſtances of it, their Proceſs will be ſeen diſpatched. Theſe are the moſt remarkable things that I could pick up, during my ſtay at *Venice*. I have avoided to ſay any thing relating to their ſeveral Councels, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the forms by which they give their Votes by ballot are ſo well known, that it were an abuſing of your time to inlarge my ſelf concerning them; nor was I ſufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of the Nobility that now is on foot ſince this laſt War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this eaſie way of raiſing Money: Nor could I give credit to that which a perſon of great Eminence there aſſured me that there was a Priſoner general in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the Inquiſitors to diſpatch thoſe againſt whom a publick proceeding would make to great a noiſe; this I could

not believe, tho my Author protested that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the imployment, discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where strangers live with more freedom, and I was amazed to see so little exactness among the searchers of the Custom-house: for though we had a Mullets-head of Trunks, and Portmangles, yet none offered to asks us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and Noblest entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr. *dela Haye* the *French* Ambassador, who as he hath spent his whole life in publick Embassies, so he hath acquired so great a knowledge of the World, with so true a judgment, and so obliging a civility, that he may well pass for a pattern; and it is no wonder to see him still engaged in a constant succession of publick imployments; and his Lady is so wonderful a person, that I pay them both, but a very small part of what I owe them in this acknowledgment, which I judge my self bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me: and indeed without the advantage of such a rendevous as I had there, a fortnights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious matter: From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a small Town, and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the Republick, from the *Ferrarese*, which is now the Popes Country, and here one sees what a difference a good and a

bad Government makes in a Countrey; for tho the Soil, is the ſame on both ſides of the River, and the *Ferrareſe* was once one of the beautifulleſt ſpots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its beſt Towns, while they had Princes of their own who for a courſe of ſome Ages were Pinces of ſuch Eminent vertue, and of ſo Heroical a Nobleneſs that they were really the Fathers of their Country, nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The Soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough ſo much as to mow their graſs, which we ſaw withering in their Meadows to our no ſmall wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a Soil thus forſaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we paſſed through that vaſt Town, which by its extent ſhews what it was about an age ago, and is now ſo much deſerted that there are vvhole ſides of Streets vvithout Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears ſignally in the Churches vvhich are mean and poorly adorned, for the Superſtition of *Italy* is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch a progreſs in this Age, that one may juſtly take the meaſures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superſtition or Vanity of this Age is ſo much beyond that of the paſt tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vaſt buildings of great Churches or rich Convents, and the ſurprizing vvealth that appears in them on Feſtival days are the Donatives of the preſent Age; ſo that it is a vulgar error that ſome have taken up, vvho fancy that Superſtition is at a ſtand, if not in de

decay, unleſs it be acknowledged that the craft of the Prieſts hath opened to them a new method to ſupport their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory, and Indulgences were become leſs effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better enlightned, and that is to engage men to an emulation and a vanity in inriching their Churches, as much as other *Italians* have in the inriching their Palaces, ſo that as they have a pleaſure as well as a vanity in ſeeing ſo much dead wealth in their houſes, they have tranſlated the ſame humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the preſent Age that believes little or nothing of thoſe contrivances, of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the ſame if not greater effects in the building and inriching their Churches, and ſo carries it in expence and prodigality from the ſuperſtition of the former Ages that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrare.* I could not but ask all I ſaw how it came that ſo rich a ſoil was ſo ſtrangely abandoned, ſome ſaid the Air was become ſo unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay in it were very ſhort-lived; but it is well known that fourſcore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occaſioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there not being people to drain the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the ſame manner as is obſerved in that vaſt and rich but uninhabited Champaign of *Rome*, ſo that the ill Air is the effect rather then the cauſe of the diſpeopling of the Popes Domi-

nions. The true cauſe is the ſeverity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiſcations by which the Nephews of ſeveral Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, ſo they have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly by the different ſtate as well as the Conſtitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in wealth, and as the ſoil is extream rich, ſo it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it ſelf to the Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many priviledges reſerved to it: Crimes there are only puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe who commit them, but there are no confiſcations of Eſtates; and tho the Authority, in criminal matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the Civil Government, the Magiſtracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the State: And by this regulation it is that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a ſtranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the center of a Soveraigaty where a Court is kept; ſo the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws much more from this place of liberty, then from thoſe where his Authority is unlimited and abſolute, but they are by thoſe means almoſt quite abandoned: for the greatneſs of a Prince or State riſing from the numbers of the Subjects, thoſe maxims that retain the Subjects, and that

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draw ſtrangers to come among them, are certainly the trueſt maxims for advancing the greatneſs of the Maſter. And I could not but with much ſcorn obſerve the folly of ſome *Frenchmen*, who made uſe of this argument to ſhew the greatneſs of their Nation, that one found many *French-men* in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *Engliſh* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is juſt contrary to the right conſequence that ought to be drawn from this obſervation. It is certain that few leave their Country, and go to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed with ſo much uneaſineſs at home that they cannot well live among their friends and kinred, ſo that a mild Government drives out no ſwarms: whereas it is the ſure mark of a ſevere Government that weakens it ſelf, when many of the Subjects find it ſo hard to ſubſiſt at home, that they are forced to ſeek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if impoſitions, and other ſeverities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every corner of the Town, and all round it: tho its ſcituation is not very favourable, for it lies at the foot of the *Appenins* on the North ſide, and is extream cold in Winter. The houſes are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, ſo that one walks all the Town over covered under *Piazzas*; but the walks here are both higher and larger then any where

elſe: there are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches and Convents are incredibily rich: within the Town the richeſt are the Dominicans, which is the chief houſe of the Order, where their Founders body is laid in one of the beſt Chappels of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciſcans*, the Servites, the Jeſuites, and the Canons Regular of St. *Salvator*. In this laſt there is a ſcrowl of the *Hebrew* Bible, which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by ſome *Jew*, that hath no doubt ſold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezrah*'s own hand, and this hath paſt long for current: but the Manuſcript is only a fine Copy like thoſe that the *Jews* uſe in their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old: that part of it on which I caſt my eye was the Book of Eſther, ſo by the bulk of the ſcrowl, I judged it to be the Collection of thoſe ſmall books of the Old Teſtament that the *Jews* ſet after the Law; but thoſe of the houſe fancy they have a great treaſure in it, and perhaps ſuch *Jews* as have ſeen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and to ſuffer them to go on in their error. The chief Church in the Town is St. *Petrones*, and there one ſees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare *Aſtronomer Caſſini* laid along a great part of the pavement in a braſs Circle: it marks the true point of mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the beſt performances that perhaps the

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World ever saw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one side of which is the Legate's Palace, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was Pope *Joan's*, which is so named by the People of the Town, it is true the Learned men say it is the Statue of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a youthly and womanish Face, But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope *Nicolas* the IV. which is in St. *Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*: For the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an age in it that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all, and I my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Author's time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna*, stands the Monastery of St. *Michael* in *Bosco*, which hath a most charming Situation and Prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in *Italy*: it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloistered, and is Octangular: which is so nobly painted in Fresco, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again

much decayed: The Dormitory is very Magnificent: the Chappel is little, but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich Monastery: Four Miles from *Bologna*, there is a *Madona* of St. *Luke's*, and because many go thither in great Devotion, there is a Portico, a Building, which is already carried on almost half way: it is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will be very probably finished, and this may prove the beginning of many such like Portico's in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by Superstition and the Artifices of their Priests. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief Glories of this place, the famous *Malaspighi* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a Play there, but the Poesie was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a satisfaction in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that Range of Hills that carry the Name of *Apenius*; though that is strictly given only

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to one that is the higheſt: All the way to *Florence* this Track of Hills continues, tho' there are ſeveral bottoms, and ſome conſiderable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it ſelf is juſt at the bottom of the laſt Hill. The High ways all along theſe Hills are kept in ſo very good caſe, that in few of the beſt inhabited Countries doth one find the High-ways ſo well maintained as in thoſe forſaken Mountains: but this is ſo great a Paſſage, that all that are concerned in it, find their Account in the expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt of theſe Hills, though in a little Bottom, in the midſt of a Hill, ſtands *Pratolino*, one of the great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer muſt be very agreeable; for the Air of thoſe Mountains is extream thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great Coſt, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel to give them thoſe firm and beautiful Walks that we have in *England*, ſo the conſtant Greenneſs of the Box doth ſo much pleaſe them, that the preferring the Sight to the Smell, have their Gardens ſo high-ſcented by Plots made with them, that there is no pleaſure to walk in them; they alſo lay their Walks ſo between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I ſaw firſt in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a Courſe of Water round

about the Walls, about a foot from the ground in a Channel of Stone that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such Plants as in dry season, needed watring; and a Cock set the Water a running in this Course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watring of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The Streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman* Highways, with great Stone, bigger than our common Pavement-Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their Joynings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their Feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, so that in every Corner one meets with many agreable Objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the great Duke's Palace and Gardens; or of the old Palace and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things that they would require a very copious Description: if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these sub-

subjects than you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cupulo, is after S. *Peter's*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*: it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast Compass, and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very much in my Thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Noblenes which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistery that stands before it, was a Noble Heathen Temple: its Gates of Brass are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many Histories so well represented in bas Reliefs in them, with so much exactnes, the work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious man may find entertainment for many days if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical exactnes. The *Annunciata*, S. *Mark's*, S. *Croce*, and S. *Maria Novela*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches: but the Church and Chappel of S. *Lawrence* exceeds them all as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outside, which is quite flea'd, if I may so speak, but on design to give it a rich outside of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church the Bodies of the great Dukes lie deposited

till the famous Chappel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a Description of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without doubt the richest piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho' there are always many at Work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the Hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgins made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her Grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most Life in it, of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a Collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by Pope *Clement* the VII and given to his Country; and there are very many Printed Books mixed with them; and those Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virgil*'s Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Aulus Gellius* are written, and in one place, one in a different Hand hath writ that he had compared those Manuscripts: and he adds a Date to this in *Olibrius*'s time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some Diphthongs in it cast into one Letter which surprized me, for I thought that

was

way of writing them had not been ſo ancient; but that which pleaſed me moſt was that, the Library-keeper aſſured me that one had lately found the famous Epiſtle of St. *Chryſoſtome* to *Ceſarius* in *Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuſcripts of that Father's Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book ſtood; ſo we turned over all the Books that ſtood near it; but I found it not: he promiſed to look it out for me if I came back that way. But I changing my deſign, and going back another way, could not ſee the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi* who is the great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a perſon of moſt wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is Learned beyond imagination, aſſured me that this could be no other than a Miſtake of the Library-keepers: he ſaid ſuch a diſcovery could not have been made without making ſo much noiſe that he muſt have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence* that either underſtood *Greek*, or that examined Manuſcripts, ſo that he aſſured me I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: So I ſet down this Matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much ſunk from what it was; for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thouſand Souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, ſuch as *Siena* and *Piſa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now ſhrunk almoſt

into nothing: It is certain that all three together are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of People: and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of so much action and so many Wars, now so forsaken, and so poor, that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of Hands to cultivate it: and in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable Ruines, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars, and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the sake of St. *Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in Purgatory, and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy* through which I passed. In short, the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Pope's Dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the Government and the great decay of Trade: for the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in Silk, the vast Importations of Silks that the *East-India* Companies bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture: yet this is not the chief Cause of the dispeopling of those rich Countries:

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the ſeverity of the Taxes is the true Reaſon: notwithſtanding all that decay of Trade, the Taxes are ſtill kept up. Beſides this, the vaſt Wealth of the Convents, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Eaſe, but in great Plenty and Luxury, makes many forſake all ſort of Induſtry, and ſeek for a recreation of thoſe Seats of Pleaſure; ſo that the People do not increaſe faſt enough to make a new Race to come inſtead of thoſe whom a hard Government drives away. It muſt needs ſurprize an attentive Traveller to ſee not only the *Venetian* Territory; which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Baliages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coaſt of *Genoa*, ſo full of People, when *Tuſcany*, the Patrimony, and the Kingdom of *Naples* have ſo few Inhabitants. In the Coaſt of *Genua* there is for many Miles, as it were, a conſtant Tract of Towns and Villages, and all thoſe are well peopled, though they have ſcarce any Soil at all, lying under the Mountains that are very barren, and that expoſe them to a moſt uneaſie Sun; and that they lie upon a boiſtrous Sea, that is almoſt always in a Storm, and that affords very few Fiſh: and yet the Gentleneſs of the Government draws ſuch Multitudes thither, and thoſe are ſo full of Wealth, that Money goes at two *per Cent.* But on the other hand to balance this a little, ſo ſtrange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man, at leaſt of

Italians, that I was told that the worſt People of all *Italy* are the *Genoeſes*, and the moſt generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all ſorts of Vice, ſo that though a ſevere Government, and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of man, and to human Society, to Juſtice and Equity; and to that eſſential equality that Nature hath made among men: yet on the other hand all men cannot bear that eaſe and liberty that becomes the human Nature. The Superſtition of *Italy*, and the great waſte of Wealth that one ſees in their Churches, particularly thoſe prodigious Maſſes of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, doth alſo ſink their Trade extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when ſo much of that is dead, and circulates no more; it is no wonder if ſuch an extravaſation (If I may uſe ſo long and ſo hard a Word) of Silver, occaſions a great deadneſs in Trade. I had almoſt forgot one Remark that I made in the laſt Hill of the *Apenins*, juſt above *Florence*, that I never ſaw ſuch tall and big Cypreſſes any where as grew over all that Hill, which ſeemed a little ſtrange, that Tree being apt to be ſtarved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are ſevere. All the way in *Tuſcany* is very rugged, except on the Sides of the *Arne*. But the Uneaſineſs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the High-ways, which are all in very good caſe: the Inns are wretched and ill furniſhed both for Lodging and Diet.

This

This is the Plague of all *Italy* when once one hath passed the *Appenin:* for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconvenience that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am,

SIR,

Yours.

THE

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Rome, *the* 8*th. of* December, 1685.

I Am now in the last Stage of my Voyage over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a day or two, and go to *Civitavechia*; and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts: but though I am told these deserve well the pains of the Journey, yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his Appetite: So I confess freely that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my Stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new Places, is now very low with me; and indeed these which I have of late seen, are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

A

All the way from *Florence*, through the Great Dukes Country looked so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*, but indeed I changed my Note when I came into the Popes Territories at *Pont Centino*, where there was a rich bottom all unculeivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle: But as I passed from M. *Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vast Champion Country lay almost quite deserted. And that wide Town, which is of so great a Compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so Poor and Miserable, that the People in the ordinary Towns in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a City must mend the matter: but I was much disappointed, for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: The surprize that this gave me, encreased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other Side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita vecchia*, for that vast and rich Champian Country that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civitavecchia* is a above a hundred Miles long, and is in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is abandoned to such a Degree, that as far as ones Eye can carry one, there are often not so much as a House to be seen; but on the Hills that are on the North side of this Valley, and by this

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diſpeopling of the Country, the Air is now become ſo unwholeſom, that it is not ſafe to be a night in it all the Summer long: for the Water that lyes upon many places not being drained, it rots: and in the Summer this produces ſo many noiſom ſteams, that it is felt even in *Rome* it ſelf; and if it were not for the breeſes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intollerable: When one ſees all this large but waſte Country from the Hill of *Marino* twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word it is the rigor of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven away hath now reduced it to ſuch a paſs, that it is hardly poſſible to repeople it: for ſuch as would come to drain and cultivate it, muſt run a great hazard, and few can reſolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their Induſtry, but an uneaſie Government. It is the greateſt Soliciſm in Government for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Abſolute, for an Hereditary Prince is induced to conſider his poſterity, and to maintain his people, ſo that thoſe that come after him may ſtill ſupport the rank which they hold in the World: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his eye unleſs he hath a pitch of generoſity which is not ordinary among men, and leaſt of all among *Italians*, who have a paſſion for their Familes, which is not known in other places: and thus a Pope who comes in late to this dignity, which by conſequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn

to

to those Councels, by which his Family may make all the haste they can during this Sunshine: And tho antiently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a sort of a Councel without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs then that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them, so that he is the most absolute Prince in *Europe*. It is true as to Spirituals they retain still a large share, so that in censures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho it is certain that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that as to a share in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from St. *Peter*, all that, is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he things best; since the Infallibility, according to their pretentions, rests singly in him: Yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have inquired too much into the grounds on which it is built: Therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical warrants: But as for the endowments of the See of *Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have in-

ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady. Sometimes the Popes Family are extreamly Glorious, and magnificent, at other times, they think of nothing but of Establishing their House: Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Sence himself, sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last Pope was, he becomes a Child again through old Age. Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understaning, and an insatiable Desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of him that now Reigns. By this Diversity which appears eminently in every new Pontificat that commonly avoids those excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councels of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age a Succession of four ravenous Reigns, and tho there was a short interruption in the Reign of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigis*, did not enrich it self: and yet it disordered the Revenue by the vast magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine months time, then any other had done in so many Years. The *Altieri* did, in a most Scandalous manner raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces in *Rome*. He that reigns now doth not

indeed raiſe his Family avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the people of their Taxes; and as there is no magnificence in his Court, nor any publick buildings now carryed on at *Rome*, ſo the many vacant Caps, occaſion many empty Palaces: and by this means there is ſo little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not poſſible for the people to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven as is believed almoſt a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this Pontificate. And as the preemption of the Corn makes that there is no profit made by the owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope, ſo there are no ways left here of imploying ones money to any conſiderable advantage. For the publick Banks, which are all in the Popes hand, do not pay in effect three *per cent.* tho they pretend to give four *per cent.* of intereſt: The ſettlement is indeed four *per cent.* and this was thought ſo great an Advantage, that Actions on the Popes Bank were bought at a Hundred and ſixteen the hundred. But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all men their money again, unleſs they would pay him thirty *per Cent.* for the continuing of this Intereſt; and thus for a Hundred Crowns Principal, one not only payed at firſt one Hundred ſixteen: but afterwards thirty: In all one hundred ſix and forty for the Hundred, which is almoſt the half loſt: For whenſoever the Pope will pay them back their Money all the reſt is loſt: And while

I am here, there is a report that the Pope is treating with the *Genoeſes* for money at two *per Cent.* and if he gets it on thoſe Terms, then he will pay his debts: and the ſubjects that have put in money in this bank, will, by the means, loſe ſix and forty *per Cent.* which is almoſt the half of their ſtock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Church-man, who took me likewiſe for one of their Clergy, becauſe I wore the habit of a Church-man, ſaid that it was a horrible ſcandal to the whole Chriſtian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſee more oppreſſion and cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho it being in the hands of Chriſts Vicar, one ſhould expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government; and how, ſaid he, can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common maxims of Juſtice and Mercy were not ſo much as known: And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the folly of all thoſe ſevere Oppreſſions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch a degeneracy of Spirit by their neceſſities, that the *Spaniards*, whoſe Dominions look ſo big in the Map, are now brought ſo low: and if they had kept ſtill the poſſeſſion they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would ſignifie no more towards their preſervation, then their other Provinces did, which, by their unskilful conduct they have both diſpeopled and exhauſted

hausted: Whereas by their losing those seven *Provinces*, those States have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn so much Wealth, and such numbers of people together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those Provinces in the last: and those States that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably by being Allies, then they could have done if they had not shaken off their yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such Viceroys and Governours, as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquess of *Carpio*, in his Youth intended to have taken so severe a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the Councel Chamber: but that Crime was discovered in time: and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*: but after that he was made for several years Ambassador in *Rome*: He is now Viceroy of *Naples*, and is the only Governor of all the places through which I passed, that is, without exception beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People: for during the few years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such abuses that seemed past Cure, and that required an Age to correct them:

He

He hath repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Spaniards* ſo much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occaſion to complain of the haughtineſs of their Maſters: for he proceeds againſt the *Spaniards* with no leſs ſeverity, when they give cauſe for it, then againſt the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the pay of the Soldiers ſo immediately into his own Care, that they, who before his coming, were half Naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed on the Streets of *Naples* in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well Diſciplined, and ſo decently cloathed, that it is a Pleaſure to ſee them: He examines their Muſters alſo ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be cheated by falſe Liſts: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true exactneſs: and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has ſent for Loaves out of the ſeveral places of the Markets and weighed them himſelf: and by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he hath brought the matter to a juſt Regulation: He hath alſo brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again, and it is believed he hath Spies to watch in caſe the Trade of Bribes is found to be ſtill going on: He hath fortified the Palace which was before his time, ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a deſcent upon it: But the two things that raiſe his Reputation moſt, are his extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the Coin, which he hath taken in hand.

hand. It is well enough known what a plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom, for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Souldiers if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they are harboured by some of the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters: and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instrumens ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples* and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they catched some few, and hanged them, so they fined such Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns a year: And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present Viceroy entred upon the Government he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*, and he first let all the Barons understand that if they harboured them any more, a little Fire would not save them: but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity, and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst

amidſt the Mountains. The Viceroy ſent a great Body againſt them, but they defended themſelves for ſome time vigorously, and in one Valley they killed five Hundred Men: but at laſt ſeeing that they were like to be hard preſt; and that the Viceroy intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the Terms that he offered them, which was a Pardon for what was paſt both as to Life and Gallies, and ſix pence a day for their entertainment in Priſon during Life, or the Viceroys Pleaſure; and ſo they rendred themſelves. They are kept in a large Priſon, and now and then as he ſees cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in Garriſons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectation, he finiſhed this matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of *Naples* that hath been ſo long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now ſo much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it as all other *Spaniſh* Money is ſo ſubject to clipping, that the whole Money of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true Value, ſo the Viceroy hath reſolved to redreſs this: he conſiders that the crying down of Money, that paſſeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of thoſe, in whoſe Hands the Money happens to be when ſuch Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one will bear his ſhare, ſo that none will be cruſhed by it. He hath laid ſome Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and

hath

hath got a great many to bring in ſome Plate to be Coined: and when he hath thus prepared ſuch a quantity, as may ſerve for the Circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy ſet ſuch a pattern to the other Miniſters of the Crown of *Spain* that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be ſoon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richeſt part of all *Italy*, for the very Mountains that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oyl, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great Corn Country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome years all is burnt up. The *Jeſuits* are the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the ſame rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally uſe towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are ſo miſerably oppreſt, that in many places they dye of hunger even amidſt the great plenty of their beſt years, for the Corn is exported to *Spain*; but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neopolitans* underſtand Trade ſo well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, ſo that the *Engliſh* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The Oyl of this Kingdom is ſtill a vaſt Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of *England*, conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of Tuns. The ſilk Trade is ſo low that it only ſerves themſelves, but the exportations is inconſiderable: the ſloath and lazineſs of this people renders them incapable of making thoſe advantages

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of so rich a Soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and though in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our Foot-men in *England*, would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged: nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to endure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the Riches of the Soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not Hands enough for their Soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their Soil produce so little, that in the midst of all that abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of *Europe*. But besides this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Cause of their Misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict Survey, it would be found that the Churchmen had four parts of the five, which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the half of

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the whole, which is two and a half: and in Tithes and Gifts and Legacies they have one and a half more; for no man dieth without leaving a conſiderable Legacy to ſome Church or ſome Convent. The wealth that one ſees in the City of *Naples* alone, paſſeth imagination: there are four and twenty houſes of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciſcans*, ſeven of the *Jeſuites*; beſides the Convents, of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*: and above all, for ſituation and riches, the *Carthuſians* on the top of the Hill that lyeth over the Town. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greateſt Hoſpital in the World, the Revenue is ſaid to be Four hundred thouſand Crowns a year: The number of the Sick is not ſo great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick I obſerved in their Galleries; which was conſiderable, that every Bed ſtood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both ſides ſeparating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void ſpace on both ſides of the Bed, that the Bed it ſelf took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are ſo many, that one can hardly believe the Numbers that they boaſt of: for they talk of many thouſands that are not ſeen, but are at Nurſe: A great part of the wealth of this Houſe goeth to the inriching their Church, which will be all over within cruſted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours: The Plate that is in the *Treaſury* here, and

in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building, becauſe it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vaſt Treaſury) and in a great many other Churches are ſo prodigious, that upon the modeſt eſtimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to Eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the *Jeſuites*, that of St. *John* the Apoſtle, and that of St. *Paul* are ſurprizing rich; the gilding and painting that is on the roofs of thoſe Churches have coſt Millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, ſo every one of theſe, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth ſeeing, tho' the riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be leſs viſited. Every year there is a new Governour of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thouſand Crowns: and to make ſome compenſation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vaſt Piece of Plate to the Houſe, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or ſome Coloſs of a Candleſtick; for ſeveral of thoſe pieces of Plate are ſaid to be worth ten thouſand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and uſeleſs: The *Jeſuites* are great Merchants here; their Wine Cellar is a vaſt Vault, and holds above a thouſand Hogs-heads, and the beſt Wine of *Naples* is ſold by them, yet they do not retail it out ſo ſcandalouſly as the *Minims* do, who live on the great ſquare before the Viceroys Palace, and ſell out their Wine by retail: They pay no duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the beſt Place of the Town for this re-

retail. It is true, the *Neopolitans* are no great drinkers, ſo the profits of this Tavern are no ſo great as they would be in colder Countries: for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are a-thirſt. Yet the Houſe groweth extream rich, and hath one of the fineſt Chappels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade ſeems very unbecoming men of that Profeſſion, and of ſo ſtrict an Order. The Convents have a very particular priviledge in this Town; for they may buy all the houſes that lye on either ſide, till the firſt ſtreet that diſcontinueth the Houſes; and there being ſcarce a ſtreet in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this means, they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progreſs that the wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is ſo viſible, that if there is not ſome ſtop put to it, within an Age they will make themſelves Maſters of the whole Kingdom: It is an amazing thing to ſee ſo profound an ignorance as reigns among the Clergy prevail ſo effectually, for tho all the Secular perſons here ſpeak of them with all poſſible ſcorn, yet they are the Maſters of the Spirits of the people. The Women are infinitely ſuperſtitious, and give their husbands no reſt, but as they draw from them great Preſents to the Church. It is true, there are Societies of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The Greek Learning begins to flouriſh there, and the new Philoſophy is much ſtudied; and here is an Aſſembly that is held in D. *Joſeph*

Valleta's Library (where there is a vaſt Colle-
ction of well choſen Books) compoſed of
men that have a right taſte of true Learning and
good Senſe: they are ill looked on by the
Clergy, and repreſented as a Set of Atheiſts,
and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius* his School.
But I found no ſuch thing among them, for
I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with
a conſiderable number of them, during the
ſhort ſtay that I made among them: There is
a learned Lawyer, *Franciſco Andria*, that is
conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive men
of the Aſſembly: There is alſo a Grandchild
of the Great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well
as learned. Few Churchmen come in to this
attempt for the reviving of Learning among
them: On the contrary, it is plain that they
dread it above all things. Only one Eminent
Preacher *Rinaldi*, that is Arch-deacon of *Capua*,
aſſociates himſelf with them: he was once
of the Jeſuite Order, but left it; and as that
alone ſerved to give a good Character of him
to me, ſo upon a long converſation with him
I found a great many other things that poſſeſſed
me with a high value for him. Some Phyſicians
in *Naples* are brought under the ſcandal of Ath-
theiſm; and it is certain, that in *Italy* men of
ſearching Underſtandings, who have no other
Idea of the Chriſtian Religion, but that which
they ſee received among them, are very natu-
rally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for the
believing it all alike in groſs without diſtinc-
ction; and finding ſuch notorious Cheats, as
appear in many parts of their Religion, and

upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a Jesuite go in a sort of a Procession, with a great Company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the Company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for Learning among the Jesuites: I was told they had not men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers: The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that Reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*, and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new method of *Molino*'s doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City; And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish* Priest that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *Il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, that in our Prayers and other Devotions, the best

methods are to retire the mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an act of Faith, and thereby to Preſent our ſelves before God: and then to ſink into a ſilence and ceſſation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion, and he makes ſmall account of Corporal Auſterities, and reduces all the Exerciſes of Religion to this ſimplicity of mind: He thinks this is not only to be propoſed to ſuch as live in Religious Houſes, but even to Secular perſons, and by this he hath propoſed a great Reformation of mens Minds and Manners: He hath many Prieſts in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs themſelves to them, to follow his Methods: The *Jeſuites* have ſet themſelves much againſt this Conduct, as foreſeeing, that it may much weaken the Empire that Superſtition hath over the Minds of People, that it may make Religion become a more plain and ſimple thing, and may alſo open a door to Enthuſiaſms: they alſo pretend that his conduct is factious and ſeditious, that this may breed a Schiſm in the Church. And becauſe he ſaith, in ſome places of his Book, that the mind may riſe up to ſuch a ſimplicity in its acts, that it may riſe in ſome of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chriſt; they have accuſed him, as intending to lay aſide the Doctrine of Chriſts Humanity, tho it is plain that he ſpeaks only of the purity of ſome ſingle acts:

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Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against *Molinos*; and they have also pretended that some of his Disciples have infused it into their Penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession, which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*; he hath also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the Jesuits, as a Provincial of the Order assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King that is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino*'s sanctity, yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some Months, but still they are well used, which is believed to flow from the good Opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that tho he may erre, yet he is certainly a good Man: Upon this imprisonment *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week one man had been condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said, another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ, and *Molinos* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, That

men ought to bring their minds to a State of inward quietneſs, from which the name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his Followers. The Paſquinade upon all this, was *ſi parliamo, in Galere, ſi ſcrivemmo Impiccati, ſi ſtiamo in quiete all Sant' Officio, e che biſogna fore: If we ſpeak we are ſent to the Gallies, if we write we are hanged: if we ſtand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquiſition: what muſt we do then?* Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples* as it is the beſt ſituated, and in the beſt Climate, ſo it is one of the Nobleſt Cities of *Europe*, and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The ſtreets are large and broad, the Pavement is Great and Noble, the Stones being generally about a foot ſquare: And it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well ſupplied by daily Markets, ſo that Proviſions are ever freſh and in great plenty, the Wine is the beſt of *Europe*, and both the Fiſh and the Fleſh is extream good: It is ſcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a freſh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroys Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-caſe is great: But it is now very richly furniſhed within, in Pictures and Statues: There are in it ſome Statues of the *Egyptian* Deities of Touchſtone, that are of great Value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient

ancient *Roman Portico* that is very Noble, before Saint *Paul*'s Church: But without the City near the Church and Hoſpital of Saint *Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which becauſe they were beyond any thing I ſaw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and ſince I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet ſeen concerning *Naples*, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt and long Galleries cut out of the Rock. There are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it, but I ſaw the paſſage to it: Theſe Galleries are generally about Twenty foot broad, and about Fifteen foot high: ſo that they are Noble and ſpacious places; and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only Three or Four foot broad, and Five or Six Foot high. I was made believe that theſe *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the Rock nine Mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and ſo they may have been the Burial places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found Galleries going off in all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of niches

that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; Here there are generally ſix or ſeven Rows of thoſe Niches, and they are both larger and higher: ſome Niches are for Childrens Bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Cheſts hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they dried, in them; but I could ſee no marks either of a Cover for theſe Holes that looked like the bellies of Cheſts, or of a Facing to ſhut up the Niches when a dead body was laid in them; ſo that it ſeems they were monſtrous unwholſome and ſtinking places, where ſome thouſands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to ſhut in ſo loathſome a ſight, and ſo odious a ſmell: For the Niches ſhew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In ſome places of the Rock, there is as it were a little Chappel hewen out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but I ſaw no marks of any Wall that ſhut in ſuch places, tho I am apt to think theſe might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in ſome places on the Walls an Arch, Old Moſaick work, and ſome Painting, the Colours are freſh, and the manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about ſix hundred years ago, after they drive out the *Saracens*: In ſome places there are Palm-Trees painted, and

and Vines in other places: The freſhneſs of the Colours ſhews theſe could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying, for the ſteams and rottenneſs of the Air, occaſioned by ſo much corruption, muſt have diſſolved both Plaiſter and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over againſt it. In another place I found a Croſs Painted, and about the upper part of it theſe Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A are Painted: A Learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not ſeem to be above ſix hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of theſe Letters: The lower ſeemed to relate to the laſt word of the Viſion, which it is ſaid that *Conſtantine* ſaw with the Croſs that appeared to him: But tho the firſt two Letters might be for Jeſus, it being ordinary in old Coins and Inſcriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. ſtands for Chriſt, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unleſs it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the boſome of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it ſtands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inſcription is, Jeſus Chriſt God overcometh. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear ſign of a barbarous Age. In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and

three

three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inſcription; thoſe below it had theſe Inſcriptions *Sta. Katharina*, *Sta. Agape*, and *Sta. Margarita*, theſe Letters are clearly modern, beſides that *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifeſt Evidences that the higheſt Antiquity that can be aſcribed to this Painting is ſix hundred years. I ſaw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkneſs, and the thick Air of the place, ſo I ſtayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs* of *Rome* than I had done. I could imagine no Reaſon why ſo little mention is made of thoſe of *Naples*, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of *Rome*: and could give my ſelf no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxime to keep up the Reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the Repoſitories of the Reliques of the Primitive Chriſtians, it would have much leſſened their Credit, if it had been thought that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the work of the Primitive Chriſtians, and indeed nothing ſeems more evident than that theſe were the common burying places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and ſuch are the *Catacombs* of *Rome* that I ſaw, which were thoſe of S. *Agnes* and S. *Sebaſtian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this anſwers the Law, tho in effect they run under it,

for

for in those days when they had not the use of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on those Works when they were once so far ingaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians, in the Primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such Rocks, must have been a very visible thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been imployed in it; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their Assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the steams so strong, that tho' I am as little subject to Vapours as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that disordered me extreamly; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of Bodies rotting in those Niches. But besides this improbability that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Bishop of *Rome*, after the middle of the third Century, which is preserved by *Eusebius* in his sixth Book, *Chapter* 43. in which we have the State of the Church of *Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy among them: there were also

also fifteen hundred Widows, and other poor maintained out of the Publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantine*'s days; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both S. *Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time, there was such a Succession of Persecutions, that came so thick one upon another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians: The one is their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact survey, it will be found that where the Poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of Mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the Poor among the Christians of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the Christians, then we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near to the full sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Numbers of the Clergy, for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were by two more than the double of the number of the Priests: and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages; the Clergy having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City as *Rome* was in those days, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a Conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the Number of their Poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the Numbers of the Christians of *Rome* in that time: And of so many Persons, the old, the young, and the Women, make more than three fourth parts, so that men that were in condition to work, were not above twelve thousand: and by consequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a

If *Cornelius* in that Letter ſpeaks of the numbers of the Chriſtians in exceſſive Terms, and if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick* hath alſo ſet out the numbers of the Chriſtians of his Time, in a very high ſtrain, that is only to be aſcribed to a pompous Eloquence, which diſpoſeth People to magnifie their own Party, and we muſt allow a good deal to a Hyperbole that is very natural to all that ſet forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not ſo clear when thoſe vaſt Cavities were dug out of the Rocks. We know that when the Laws of the twelve Tables were made, ſepulture was then in uſe: and *Rome* being then grown to a vaſt bigneſs, no doubt they had Repoſitories for their dead: ſo that ſince none of the *Roman* Authors mention any ſuch work, it may not be unreaſonable to imagine that theſe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt beginnings of the City, and ſo the latter Authors had no occaſion to take notice of it. It is alſo certain, that tho' burning came to be in uſe among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their firſt Cuſtome of burying bodies long before *Conſtantine*'s time; ſo that it was not the Chriſtian Religion that produced *this Change*. All our Modern writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonines*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for burying places, *Veſſerus*'s Opinion ſeems more probable, that the Cuſtom of burning wore out by degrees,

grees, and ſince we are ſure that they once buried, it is more natural to think that the ſlaves and the meaner ſort of the people were ſtill buried; that being a leſs expenceful and a more ſimple way of beſtowing their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and if there were already burying places prepared, it is much eaſier to imagine, how the Cuſtom of Burying grew Univerſal, without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for ſome time find out upon what grounds the Modern Criticks take it for granted, That Burying began in the times of the *Antonines*: Till I had the happineſs to talk of this matter with the Learned *Gronovius*, who ſeems to be ſuch a Maſter of all the Ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Chriſtian Emperours, for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. cap. 7.) ſays in plain terms, that the Cuſtom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as by *Conſtantine*, and as there was no Law made by him on that head, ſo he and the ſucceeding Emperours gave ſuch an entire tolleration to *Paganiſme*, admitting thoſe of that Religion to the greateſt Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given againſt burning; ſo that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherways we ſhould have found that among the Complaints

plaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made, *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Phlegon's* that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the ground, yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the Customs of burying that might be elsewhere. And so *Petronius* gives the account of the burial of the *Ephesian* Matron's Husband: but he made it apparent to me, that burying was commonly practised in *Commodus*'s time, for *Xiphilinus* tells us that in *Pertinax*'s time the friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to death had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their intire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus*'s body, and so saved it from the rage of the people, and here is a positive Evidence that burying was the common practice of that time. It is true, it is very probable that as we see some of the *Roman* Families continued to bury their Dead, even when burning was the more common Custome, so perhaps others continued after this to bury their Dead, the thing being indifferent, and no Law being made about it, and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the Custome of burning the bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this, or any other Evidences, that may be brought from Medals of Consecrations after this time, will only

only prove, that ſome were ſtill burnt, and that the Chriſtians practiſed burying Univerſally, as expreſſing their Belief of the Reſurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing indifferent. It is alſo clear from the many genuine Inſcriptions that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the dates of the Conſuls, that theſe were the common Burial places of all the *Chriſtians* of the fourth and fifth Century: for I do not remember that there is any one date that is Ancienter: and yet not one of the Writers of thoſe Ages ſpeak of them as the work of the Primitive *Chriſtians*. They ſpeak indeed of the burial places of the Martyrs, but that will prove no more, but that the *Chriſtians* might have had their quarters, and their walks in thoſe common burial places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely that they would in times of perſecutions make ſuch Inſcriptions as might have expoſed the Bodies of their dead Friends to the rage of their Enemies. And the ſpurious acts of ſome Saints and Martyrs are of too little credit to give any ſupport to the common Opinion. *Damaſus*'s Poetry is of no better Authority. And tho thoſe Ages were inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it ſeems this of thoſe *Catacombs* having been the work of the Primitive *Chriſtians* was too groſs a thing to have been ſo early impoſed on the World. And this ſilence in an Age in which Superſtition was going on at ſo great a rate has much force in it, for ſo vaſt

a work, as thoſe *Catacombs* are, muſt have been well known to all the *Romans.* It were eaſie to carry this much further, and to ſhew that the bas reliefs that have been found in ſome of thoſe *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and *Roman* time. This is alſo more diſcernable in many Inſcriptions that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*, and there are ſo many Inſcriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain theſe were of later times, and we ſee by St. *Jerom* that the Monks began, even in his time, to drive a Trade of Reliques; ſo it is no wonder that to raiſe the credit of ſuch a heap as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable Sculptures, and ſome Inſcriptions; and perhaps ſhut up the Entries into them with much care and ſecreſie, intending to open them upon ſome dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practiſed, in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion, even to ſome ſingle Relique; and a few being upon this ſecret, either thoſe might have died; or by the many Revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been diſperſed before they made the diſcovery: And thus the knowledge of thoſe places was loſt, and came to be diſcovered by accident in the laſt Age, and hath ever ſince ſupplied them with an inexhauſtible Magazine of Bones, which by all appearance are no other than the Bones of the *Pagan Romans*, which are now ſent over the World to feed a Superſtition that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus

thus the Bones of the *Roman* Slaves, or at leaſt thoſe of the meaner ſort, are now ſet in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other coſtly garniture, and entertain the Superſtition of thoſe who are willing to be deceived, as well as they ſerve the ends of thoſe that ſeek to deceive the World. But becauſe it cannot be pretended that there was ſuch a number of Chriſtians at *Naples*, as could have wrought ſuch *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought that thoſe were the common burial places of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think that the Roman *Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine theſe. I thought this required a large diſcourſe, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this Subject. I will not enter upon a long deſcription of that which is ſo well known at Mount *Veſuvio*; it had roared ſo loud about a Month before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly ſleep in the nights, and ſome old Houſes were ſo ſhaken by the Earthquake that was accaſioned by this Convulſion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the laſt eruption, above fifty years ago, was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall fear in *Naples*, though it lies at the diſtance of ſeven miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho it ſmoakt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed ſmoaking, not only in the mouth of the little Mount that is formed within the great waſt that the fire hath made, but alſo all along the

the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles in compaſs, and that inward Hill. When one ſees the mouth of this fire, and ſo great a part of the Hill which is covered ſome feet deep with Aſhes and Stones of a metallick compoſition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of ſo laſting a burning, that hath calcined ſo much matter, and ſpewed out ſuch prodigious quantities. It is plain there are vaſt Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it ſeems in this Mountain they run along through ſome Mines and Rocks, and as their ſlow conſumption, produceth a perpetual Smoak, ſo when the Air within is ſo much rarified, that it muſt open it ſelf, it throws up thoſe maſſes of Metal and Rock that ſhut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nouriſh its Flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended, unleſs there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by ſome undiſcovered Vacuity, or a more inſenſible tranſmiſſion of Air, through the Pores of the Earth. The heat of this Hill operates ſo much upon the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of it, that it produceth the richeſt Wine about *Naples*, and it alſo purifieth the Air ſo much, that the Village at bottom is thought the beſt Air of the Country, ſo that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Iſchia*, that is an Iſland not far from *Naples*, doth alſo ſometimes ſpew out Fire.

On

On the other ſide of *Naples* to the Weſt, one paſſeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pauſalippe*, and is Four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true meaſure, it is twenty foot broad, and at firſt forty foot high; but afterward it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building, ſo that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was alſo a Quarry for the building of the Town: All along the way here one diſcovers a ſtrange boiling within the ground, for a little beyond this Grot of *Pauſalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is on the one hand a Bath occaſioned by a ſteam that riſeth ſo hot out of the ground, that as ſoon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himſelf all over in a ſweat, which is very proper for ſome diſeaſes, eſpecially that which carries its name from *Naples*; And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little Grot, that ſends out a poiſonous ſteam, that as it puts out a Candle, as ſoon as it cometh near it, ſo it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, the Grot being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*, fell into a convulſion. From that one goeth to ſee the poor Reſts of *Puzzoli*, and of all that Bay that was once all about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the rarities here have been ſo often and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I am ſenſible I can add nothing

thing to what is ſo well known. I will ſay nothing of the *Ampitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil*'s Houſes, for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are antient Brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the Vaults of *Virgil*'s houſe are ſtill entire; The *Sulfatara* is a ſurprizing thing; here is a bottom out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out ſtill in many places, in a thick ſteaming ſmoak, that is full of Brimſtone, did throw up, about a hundred and 50 years ago, a vaſt quantity of Earth, which was carried above three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruines of a Town that was overwhelmed with this eruption, which is of a very conſiderable heighth, they told me that there was before that time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one ſees the beginnings in the Bay at ſome diſtance from the ſhore; it carrieth ſtill the name of *Julio*'s Mole, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Cæſar*. But by the ſwelling of the ground upon the eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this paſſage is ſtopt, and the *Averno* is now freſh water, it is eighteen fathom deep. On the ſide of it is that amazing Cave, where the *Sibil* is ſaid to have given out her inſpirations: the hewing it out of the Rock, hath been a prodigious work; for the Rock is one of the hardeſt ſtones in the World, and the Cave goeth in ſeven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could gueſs, eighteen foot high; and from the end of this great Gallery, there is a narrow paſſage of three foot broad,

broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little Apartment, to which we go in a constant stooping descent from the great Cave; here are three little Rooms: in one of them there are some Rests of an old Molaick, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over, there is also a Spring of Water, and a Bath in which it is supposed the *Sibil* bathed her self; and from this Cave it is said that there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the Passage is now choakt by the falling in of the Rock in several places: this piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the Devil; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the Rock sheweth that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many hands at their command who set about it, and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design but to subdue the people more intirely to the conduct of the Priests that managed this Imposture, so busie and industrious hath the ambition and fraud of the Priests been in all Ages and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that present themselves in the Bay of *Puzzoly*, the Rests of *Caligula*'s Bridge are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the Pillars that supported the Arches, and of some of the Arches the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furthest of those Pillars is built, but my Water-

man assured me it was fifty Cubits. This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a noble Monument of the profuse and extravant expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four miles of Sea, meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his vanity: As for *Agripina*'s Tomb, it is no great matter, only the Bas Reliefs are yet intire. The marvellous Fish-pond is a great Basin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon 48 great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as Stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero*'s; and about a quarter of a mile from thence there is another vast work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick, and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many Rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister which is still entire, and so white that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred: from whence this Cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Cameræ*: This hath ben as expensive a Work as it is useless, it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all this

this Bay that is both so curious and so useful as the Baths, which seems to flow from the same reason that is the cause of those Eruptions in the *Vesuvio* and *Salfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes some Fountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a stream through the Rock, that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard, but where the Rock is soft and spungy there the streams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those streams as they are all hot, so they are impregnated with such Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are galleries, hew'd out of the rock, and fac'd with a building, in which there are, as it were, Bedsteds made in the Walls, upon which, those that come thither to sweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out of their Swears.

It is certain that a man can no where pass a day of his life both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journy to *Puzzoli*, and all along the Bay: but tho anciently this was also well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change time bring upon all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that as *Puzzoli* it self is but a small Village, so there is now no other in all this Bay, which

was anciently built almost all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that noble remnant of the *Via Appia*, that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this High-way is 12 foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this Causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years; and is in most places, for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of Paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those Stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase, chiefly by the Dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reasons should make a more sensible difference, between those waies and the Soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe that anciently those waies were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those Waies were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant than to walk along

along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of Carriage, and indeed Mules are the only Beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Rests of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of *Gajeta*; but the Isle of *Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius*'s Reign, since it is hard to tell whether it was more extraordinary to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told there was a Tradition of seven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a Body as the *Roman Empire*, so governed by such a *Tyrannical Prince*, at such a distance from the chief Scene, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to see so vast a State, that had so great a sense of Liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as *Anthony*, and so raw a youth as *Augustus*; so we see the wonder is much improved, when we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty miles distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the Empress of the World, in a succession of many Ages, so it hath in it at present more

curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in *Europe*. On the side of *Tuscany*, the entry into *Rome* is very surprizing to Strangers, for one cometh along for a great many Miles, upon the Remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed so intire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the *Roman* Greatness, who laid such a Caus-waies all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Popolo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long *Vista* of Streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World where the Churches, Covents and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean, which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the *Romans* groan. The Churches of *Rome* are so well known that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed I had too transient a view of them to make in with that degree of exactness which the Subject requires. St. *Peter's* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its Length, Heighth, and Breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the Eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to, be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness that one would think they were strong enough

enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever. So when one climbs up to the top of that vast heighth, he wonders what foundation can bear so huge a weight; for as the Church is of a vast heighth, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the Church. In the heighth of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a Representation, that though it can hardly be seen from the Floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an Ancient Man compassed about with Angels. I will say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of St. *Peter*, of the great Tombs; of which the three chief are *Paul* III. *Urban* VII. and *Alexander* VII. nor of the vast Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are reserved in them; nor will I undertake a Description of the adjoyning Palace, where the Painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by *Raphael*, and *Michael Angelo*, are so rich, that one is sorry to see a work of that value laid on Fresco, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous Chappel of *Sixto* V. and that is all painted in Fresco, one Corner that represents the Murther of the renowned Admiral *Chastillion*, and that hath written under it those Words, *Rex Colinii Necem probat.* The vast

length of the Gallery on one ſide: and of the Library in another do ſurprize one; the Gardens have many Statues of a moſt exceſſive value, and ſome good Fountains; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in moſt of the Palaces of *Rome*, if there were but a ſmall coſt laid out to keep all in good caſe, that is brought together at ſo vaſt a charge, they would make another ſort of ſhew, and be looked at with much more pleaſure: In the Apartments of *Rome*, there are a great many things that offend the ſight: The Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince *Borgheſe*, whereas there is the vaſteſt Collection of the beſt Pieces, and of the Hands of the greateſt Maſters that is in all *Europe*, ſo the Doors and Locks give not that diſtaſte to the Eye, that one finds elſewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick, which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the diſproportion that is between the Floors and the reſt of the Room, not without a ſenſible preception and diſlike. It is true, they ſay their Air is ſo cold and moiſt in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble; and the heat is ſometimes ſo great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the Vermin that would neſtle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to waſh their Floors, with that care that is uſed in *Holland*, where the Air is moiſter; and

the

the Climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find such effects from wooden Floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much Wealth all at one, as the *Italians* do upon the building and finishing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their Palace, there is indeed a great series of Noble rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are composed, but I did not find at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, such a disposition of Rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants-rooms and other Conveniencies as are necessary for accomodating the Apartment. It is true this is not so necessary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more considered that Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their Palaces; it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet less understood, and worse kept than their Palaces. It is true, the *Villa Borgheſe* ought to be excepted, where as there is a prodigious Collection of Bas Reliefs, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of as vast value; so the Statues within, of which some are of Porphiry, and others of Touch-stone, are amazing things: The whole grounds of this Park, which is about three miles in compass; and in which there are six or seven Lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I

I was in an *English* Park, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better ſituated upon a high ground, and hath more Water-works, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the Houſe nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds ſo well laid out and ſo well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures, and for thoſe Apartments in which they lodg, they are generally furniſhed either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad Gold Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a Gold Fringe at Top and Bottom, but there is very little Tapiſtry in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this Digreſſion, from the general view that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one part of it which will engage me into a new digreſſion, as it well deſerves one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Caſe is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a Collection of Books that filleth a man's Eye: There is firſt a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both ſides, two Galleries of ſo vaſt a length, that though the half of them is already furniſhed with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidleberg*-Library ſtands by it ſelf, and filleth the one ſide of the Gallery, as the Duke of *Urban*'s Library of Manuſcripts filleth the other. But tho' theſe laſt are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of ſuch Antiquity as thoſe

those of *Heidelberg*: When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* the 8. Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own hand, to Pope *Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with a Collection of some Letters that he writ to *Ann Bullen*, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I that knew his Hand well, saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin* Manuscripts of great Antiquity in this Library; some few of *Virgil*'s I saw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between Mr. *Sebelirat* the Library-keeper, and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning the Council of *Constance*. The two Points in debate are the words of the Decree made in the fourth Session, and the Popes Confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the *French* Manuscripts, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members: which as it implies that the Head was corrupted and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Popes Infallibility, to no small straits; For if Pope *Martin* that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not Infallible, no other Pope was

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Infallible: To all this *Schelſtrat* anſwers from his Manuſcripts that the Words of a Reformation, in Head and Members, are not in the Decree of that Seſſion: and he did ſhew me ſeveral Manuſcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the ſitting of the Council, and were not at all daſhed, in which theſe words were not. I know the Hand and way of Writing of that Age too well to be eaſily miſtaken in my judgment concerning thoſe Manuſcripts; but if thoſe Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that ſeem to be much ſtronger for the ſuperiority of the Council above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Popes, and all other Perſons, were bound to ſubmit to the Deciſions of the Council, as to Faith: which Words are not in the *French* Manuſcripts: Upon this I told Mr. *Schelſtrat* that I thought the Words in theſe Manuſcripts were ſtronger than the other: ſince the Word Reformation, as it was uſed in the time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abuſes, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the Monaſtick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact obſervation of the Rule of their Order: So tho the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head & Members, I do not ſee that this would import more than the Papacy had fallen into ſome Diſorders that needed a Reformation: and this is not denied even by thoſe who aſſert the Popes Infallibility: but a Submiſſion to Points of Faith, that is expreſly aſſerted in the *Roman* Manuſcripts, is a much more poſitive evidence againſt

againſt the Popes Infallibility: and the word Faith is not capable of ſo large a ſenſe as may be juſtly aſcribed to Reformation. But this difference, in ſo main a point between Manuſcripts concerning ſo late a tranſaction, gave me an occaſion to reflect on the vaſt uncertainty of Tradition, eſpecially of matters that are at a great diſtance from us; when thoſe that were ſo lately tranſacted, are ſo differently repreſented in Manuſcripts, and in which, both thoſe of *Paris* and *Rome* ſeem to carry all poſſible Evidence of ſincerity. As for the Popes Confirmation of that Decree, it is true by a General Bull, Pope *Martin* confirmed the Council of *Conſtance* to ſuch a period; but beſide that he made a particular Bull, as *Schelſtrat* aſſured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among thoſe this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named; this ſeemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I deſired to ſee the Original of the Bull: for there ſeems to be juſt reaſons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promiſed to do his indeavours, tho he told me that would not be eaſie, for the Bulls were ſtrickly kept; and the next day when I came, hoping to ſee it, I could not be admitted: but he aſſured me that if that had not been the laſt day of my ſtay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my ſeeing the Original: ſo this is all I can ſay as to the authenticalneſs of that Bull: But ſuppoſing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. *Schelſtrat* that the General

neral Bull of Confirmation, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: but since that particular Bull was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the Consistory: and was a fraudulent thing of which no noise was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil* between the Pope and the Council, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: And thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the same time in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority: And so this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by Mr. *Schelstrat*, but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned Men at *Rome*, *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledg of the *Greek* and *Agyptian* Antiquities; and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superstitions of the *Heathens*, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those Matters: *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his understand-

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ing of the old *Roman* Architecture and Fabricks. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the Jesuits Colledge, and is much above the common rate, both for Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Church History. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot *Nazari* hath so general a view of the several parts of learning, tho' he hath chiefly applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematicks, and is a man of so ingaging a Civility, and used my self in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of Esteem and Gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal *d'Estres* all the advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a measure of Knowledg far above what can be expected from a Person of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the learnedst men that this Age hath produced, Mr. *Launay* who lived many Years with him, so it is visible that he made a great Progress by the Conversation of so extraordinary a Person; & as for Theological Learning there is now none of the Colledg equal to him. Cardinal *Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any Character from me. The Elevation of his present Condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness & gentleness of Temper that we saw in him in *England*, & he retains the unaffected simplicity & humility of a Friar amidst all the dignity of the Purple, and as he sheweth all the generous

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care and concern for his Countrey-men that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it in so many obliging marks of his goodness for my self, as went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Pope's Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick* Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot *Nazari* told me, the learnedest Book against the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but it is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere, for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School-Divinity and Casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be, and perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of Learned men, turns somewhat upon the Confessor, for it is certain that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little incouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have for the present Pontificat, one made a pleasant Reflection to me, he said, those Popes that intend to raise their Families, as they saw the Censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the Spirits of the People. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peter's*, and the Library, and for furnishing *Rome* with Water, than Pope *Paul* the V. tho at the same

ſame time he did not forget his Family; and though the other Popes that have raiſed great Families, have not done this to ſo eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence, whereas thoſe Popes that have not raiſed Families, have it ſeems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and ſo they have not done much either to recommend their Government to their Subjects, or their Reign to Poſterity; and it is very plain that the preſent Pope taketh no great care of this. His Life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all thoſe publick ſcandals that make a noiſe in the World; and there is at preſent a Regularity in *Rome*, that deſerveth great commendation, for publick Vices are not to be ſeen there: His perſonal Sobriety is alſo ſingular. One aſſured me that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a day, tho this is indeed ſhort of *Sixto* V. who gave orders to his Steward never to exceed five and twenty Bajoyes, that is eighteen pence a day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and doth never expoſe it; for upon the leaſt Diſorder he ſhuts himſelf up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the leaſt Indiſpoſition many daies; but his Government is ſevere, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation, not only diſpeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weak-

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ning the natural Fertility of the Subjects, for as men and women well clothed and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing anxities that want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with want; so it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of *Grneva* and *Switzerland*, with the barrenness that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious Productions of *Geneva*: Mr. *Tronchin* that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professors of the same name, that is now there, died at the Age of seventy six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborous Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrini*; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and and fifty years ago, left *Lucca* their Native City, with the *Turretini*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*, and some others that came and setled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same Re-

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lation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the great Fountains of Water that are almost in all the corners of it: That old Aquaduct which *Paul* the V. restored cometh from a Collection of Sources, five and thirty Miles distant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an Aqueduct in a Channel that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain: It breaketh out in five several Fountains, of which some give water about a Foot Square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no Decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain of the *Piazza Navona* that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before St. *Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farnese* with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain that runs continually: All these, I say, are Noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater *Idea* of those who have taken care to supply this City, with one of the chiefest Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others who have laid out Millions meerly to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been

imploied as the *Romans* did their Treasures in furnishing great Towns with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigns among all sorts of People at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their Government, for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the Monsignori: and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope: this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon News, for tho there is no news printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable Figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them, one is sure to hear all the news of *Europe*, together with many Speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of *Sweden*'s all that relateth to *Germany* or the North is ever to be found, and that Princess that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the strangers, and her civility together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her Conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own Word,

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to my self, which was, that she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of *Rome*. The Ambassadors of Crowns, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of several Nations, that do all meet and center here, maketh that there is more News in *Rome* than any where: For Priests, and the men of Religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Musick, there is more Entertainment for him at *Rome*, then in all the rest of *Europe*, but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is alwaies general, and where there is little sincerity or openness practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The Women here begin to be a little more conversable, tho a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of Ecclesiasticks: who being denied the priviledge of Wives of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the Wives of others: The Liberties that were taken in the Constable of *Naples*'s Palace, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much, at that freedom, which had no bounds. But the Dutchess of *Bracciano*, that is a French Woman, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms

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of a noble Converſation, recovered in a great meaſure, the Credit of thoſe Liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains practiſe with all the ſtrictneſs of Vertue; for ſhe receiveth Viſits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms, and by the livelineſs of her Converſation, maketh that her Court is the pleaſanteſt Aſſembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not engage in a Deſcription of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done ſo oft, and with ſuch exactneſs, that nothing can be added to what hath been already publiſhed. It is certain that when one is in the Capitol, and ſees thoſe poor Reſts of what once it was, he is ſurprized to ſee a Building of ſo great a fame ſunk ſo low, that one can ſcarce imagin that it was once a Caſtle, ſcituated upon a Hill able to hold out againſt a Siege of the *Gauls*: The *Tarpeian* Rock is now of ſo ſmall a fall, that a Man would think it no great matter for his Diverſion to leap over it: and the ſhape of the Ground hath not been ſo much altered on one ſide, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus*'s Triumphal Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other ſide, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vaſt Amphitheatre of *Titus* is not above three foot ſunk under the level of the ground. Within the capitol one ſees many noble Remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more uſeful, then the Tables of their Conſuls which

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are upon the Walls: and the Inscription on the *Columna Rostrata*, in the time of the first *Punick* War, is without doubt the most valuable Antiquity in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such Remnants of old *Rome* in the Ruines of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in the *Portico's*, and other Remains of that glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the heighth of the Convents of *Arceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *seges ubi Troja fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them Vineyards, of which some are half a mile in compass: The vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which passeth imagination, the prodigious Amphitheater of *Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand Spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the Vaults where the Waters are that furnisheth *Titus*'s Baths; and above all, *Diocletian*'s Baths, tho built when the Empire was in its decay, are so far above all modern Buildings, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those Baths, is above half a mile in compass: the vastness of the Rooms in which the Bathers might swim, of which the *Carthusians* Church, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many

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great Pillars all of one Stone of Marble beautifully ſpotted, are things of which theſe latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the *Portico*'s before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold: for it riſeth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in diameter, which, as it is the only Window of the Church, ſo it filleth it with Light, and is the hardieſt piece of Architecture that ever was made: The Pillars of the Portico are alſo the nobleſt in *Rome*, they are the higheſt and biggeſt that one can ſee any where all of one ſtone: and the numbers of thoſe ancient Pillars, with which, not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly St. *Mary Maggiore*, and St. *John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private Houſes are adorned, and of the Fragments, of which there are ſuch multitudes in all the Streets of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expencefulneſs of the old *Romans* in their Buildings: for the hewing and fetching a few of thoſe Pillars, muſt have coſt more than whole Palaces do now; ſince moſt of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of theſe Pillars are of Porphiry, others of Jaſp, others of granated Marble: but the greateſt number is of white Marble: The two Columns *Trajans* and *Antonius*: The two Horſes that are in the Mount *Cavallo*, and the other two Horſes in the Capitol, which have not indeed the poſtures and motions of the other. The Braſs

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Horse that as is believed carried *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nero's Colossus*, the Temple of *Bacchus* near the Catacomb of St. *Agnes*, which is the entirest and least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of *Romulus* and *Remus* (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when *Rome* grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of *Severus*, of *Titus*, of *Constantine*, in the last of which one sees that the Sculpture of his Age was much sunck from what it had been, only in the top there are some bas Reliefs that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see of enough, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the vastness of that Republic, or rather Empire. There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value dug up in all the quarters of *Rome* these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope *Leo* the X's time: who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the most generous Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the Riches of Old *Rome*, that day, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed he hath been less scandalous, in his Impiety and Athe-

theſm, of which neither he nor his Court were ſo much aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated Perſons of any Age. Soon after him Pope *Paul* the IIL gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his Family. But I was told that this large piece of ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt Collection of the Antiquities of the higheſt value, ſince this is the ruine of the Palace of the *Roman* Emperors, have never been yet ſearched into with any exactneſs: So that when a curious Prince cometh that is willing to employ many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named theſe things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious deſcriptions that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any thing of the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carry one ſo far, that it is not eaſie to give bounds to the deſcriptions into which one findeth himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a ſubject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the *Paleſtrina*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farneſe* have ſomewhat in them that leave an impreſſion which no new Objects can wear out: and as the laſt hath a Noble Square before it with two great Fountains in it, ſo the Statue of *Hercules* and the Bull that are below, and the Gallery above ſtairs are unva-

luable; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the beſt pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Carrachio's* hand, and there are in that Gallery the greateſt number of Heads of the Greek Philoſophers and Poets that I ever ſaw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that ſtruck me moſt, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without diſpute, a true Antick, ſo it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat Noſe, the broad Face, the ſimplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great Philoſopher made, ſo that I could not return off enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the wonders of the Bell, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the Hiſtory of it is not well known, ſo there are ſuch faults in the Sculpture, that tho it is all extream fine, yet one ſeeth it hath not the exactneſs of the beſt times. As for the Churches and Convents of *Rome*, as the number, the vaſtneſs, the riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, ſo here again a Stranger is loſt; and the Convent that one ſeeth laſt, is always the moſt admired: I confeſs the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the Inquiſition ſitteth, is that which maketh the moſt ſenſible impreſſion upon one that paſſeth at *Rome*, for an Heretick, tho except one committeth great Follies he is in no danger there, and the poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their intereſt ſo much in uſing Strangers well, where

soever their Religion may be that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of People, and in particular both among the English and Scotish Jesuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the English Jesuites among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not have exposed a Picture, with such a name on it, to all Strangers, yet *Oldcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he was as clearly convicted of the Gun-powder-Treason, as ther other was: and it seemed a little strange to me, to see that a time in which, for other Reasons the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that Conspiracy a Jesuit convicted of the blackest Crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of those Emblematical Prophecies, relating to *England*, that the Jesuites have had at *Rome* near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a Copy, so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during St. *Gregory's* Fair and Feast, which lasted

lasted several days. In his Church the Hoſt was expoſed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappel that was once his Houſe, in which his Statue and the Table where he ſerved the Poor, are preſerved: I ſaw ſuch vaſt numbers of people there, that one ſhould have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a Prayer ſaid to it, they kiſſed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw ſome Vertue from it. I will add nothing of the ſeveral Obelisks and Pillars that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated Chappels that are in ſome of the great Churches, in particular thoſe of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the Water works in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to deſcribe *Frascati*, (for *Tivoly* I did not ſee.) The young Prince *Borgheſe*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome* as well for his Learning as for his Vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with thoſe two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Water-works in the *Aldobrandin* Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that ever I ſaw in *France*, the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the *Ludovisi*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewiſe a

greatness in them that is natural, and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the poverty that one seeth every where abroad are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the King of *France*, do presently buy it up, so that as the King hath already the greatest Collection of Pictures that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treasures of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of Natural History that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots *Fabroni* and *Nardi*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal *Howard*, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it, who after they had been for some years in a Nunnery, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by some Degrees to a total alteration in one: and tho' the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more Man than Woman: upon this the matter was looked into. That

which

which naturally offereth it self here, is that these two had been alwaies what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the breasts of a Woman that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully of their having been real Females that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise, the proceedings would have been more severe and more secret: and these persons would have been burnt, or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physitians and Chyrurgeons were appointed to examin the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their Vows, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a Religious life, and required to go in the mens habit. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman* Marquess, when I was there; I heard of this matter only two dayes before I left *Rome*, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating it to so curious an Inquirer into Nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I shall add one of another sort that I examined

while I was at *Geneva*: There is a Minister of St. *Gervais*, Mr. *Gay*, who hath a Daughter, that is now fifteen years old? Her Nurse had an extraordinary thickness of Hearing, at a year old, the Child spoke all those little words that Children begin usually to learn at that Age, but she made no progress: yet this was not observed, till it was to late, and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since though she hears great Noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems while the Milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and that the Child sucked more moderately the first year, those Humours in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently: and that her Nurses Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occasioned the Deafness. But this Child hath by observing the motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired so many words that out of these she hath formed a sort of Jargon in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own Language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period, for it seemed to be a confused Noise: She knows nothing that said to her, unless she seeth the motion of their Mouths that speak to her; so that in the Night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a Candle. Only she

thing appeared the ſtrangeſt part of the whole Narration: She hath a Siſter with whom ſhe hath practiſed her Language more than with any other: and in the night by laying her hand on her Siſters mouth, ſhe can perceive by that, what ſhe ſays, and ſo can diſcourſe with her in the night. It is true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that ſhe found not only ſome ſhort period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young Woman without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural Sagacity found out a method of holding diſcourſe, that doth in a great meaſure leſſen the miſery of her Deafneſs. I examined this matter critically, but only the Siſter was not preſent, ſo that I could not ſee how the converſation paſt between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning this place, I cannot hinder my ſelf from giving you an account of a converſation that I had with one of the moſt Celebrated perſons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the Credit that the Order of the Jeſuites had every where; It was ſaid that all the World miſtruſted them, and yet a ſtrange ſort of contradiction all the World truſted them, and tho it was well known that every Jeſuite was truer to the Intereſts of his Order than he could be to the Intereſts of any Prince whatſoever, yet thoſe Princes that would be very careful not to ſuffer Spies to come into their Courts or into their Councils ſuffered thoſe Spies to come into their Bedds and Cloſets.

and tho Princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt, so they had sometimes as much fear as other People, which a dextrous Spy knew well how to manage. Upon which that person that pretended to be a zealous Catholick added, that for their part they considered only the Character that the Church gave to a Priest; and if the Church qualified him to do the functions of a Priest, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all Divine. On the contrary they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant Priest; for then they had to do only with the Church and not with the man. Pursuant to this that persons Confessor was the greatest and the most notorious Block-head that could be found, and when they were asked why they made use of so weak a man, they answered because they could not find a weaker: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a Groom or a Footman that got into Priests Orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask councel of a Friend; but they knew no other use of a Confessor, but to confess to him, and to receive absolution from him: and in so doing they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that considered only the power of the Church in the Priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short

ſhort Ramble that I made; which was too ſhort to deſerve the name of Travelling, and therefore the Inquiries or obſervations that I could make, muſt be received with the abatement that ought to be made for ſo ſhort a ſtay: and all will be of a piece, when the remarks are as ſlight, as the abode I made in the places through which I paſt was ſhort. I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, ſo if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I ſaw and knew to be true, or that I had from ſuch hands, that I have very good reaſon to believe it: and I fancy that the things which made the greateſt impreſſion on my ſelf, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the Expreſſions of eſteem and gratitude that I can ever pay; ſo I had a more particular reaſon that determined me to give you, ſo full an account of all I ſaw and obſerved: for as you were pleaſed at parting to do me the Honour to deſire me to communicate to you ſuch things as appeared moſt remarkable to me, ſo I found ſuch a vaſt advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the happineſs I have of being known to you, and of being ſo far conſidered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your Perſon and Studies, to thoſe in whom your Curious Diſcoveries had kindled that

eſteem

esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal Inquiries into Nature, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this Age: and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends, and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable Character that I gave my self; so that if I made any progress in the Inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make, is but a very small part of what I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my Life.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

From *Nimmegen*, the 20. of *May*, 1686.

SIR,

I Thought I had made so full a point at the conclusion of my last Letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of this Volume of the former: But new Subjects and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I engage you again to two or three Hours reading. From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a Road as safe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Habour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World; all is so well defended, that it is with reason either to Storms or Enemies the securest Port that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its Situation is so much Trade to it, that these considerable

another appearance of Wealth than I found in any Town of *France*, and there is a new street lately built there, and for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that Port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was so strong in the Christians week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Turn from thence through *Province*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the *Pont du Gar*. near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English Nation, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the Soil, and the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much a stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the Persecution which I savv in its rage and utmost fury; and of vvhich I could give you many instances that are so much beyond all the common Measures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting novv to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them vvith the necessary circumstances of time,

time, place, and persons, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any Age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or Man: And what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had taken from Books of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life: The applauses that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegericks that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by smaller Authors in every Town of any note there; and the Sermons that are all flights of flattery upon this Subject, are such evident Demonstrations of their Sense of this matter; that what is now on foot may be well termed the Act of the whole Clergy of *France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the Roman Communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not so far laid off the Humane Nature as not to go in entirely into those Bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret as if it were high Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the Dragoons to higher Degrees of rage: and there was such a heat spread over all the Country,

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on this occasion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such Effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were touch'd with the least degree of Compassion for the Miseries that the poor Protestants suffered to be a Witness to the Insultings that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick Rejoycings upon it at *Rome*: No Indulgences nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish* Faction being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a Course of Proceedings, that is without an Example, was set forth, by all that were of that interest, in its proper Colours; of which I met with some Instances my self, and could not but smile to see some of the *Spanish* Faction so far to forget their Courts of Inquisition as to argue against the Conversions by the Dragoons, as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion; yet the Pope was of another mind, for the Duke *d'Estres* gave him an account of the King's Proceedings in this matter very copiously, as he himself related it. Upon which the Pope approved all, and expressed great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the Pope added that he found some Cardinals [as I remember the Duke *d'Estres* said two] were not pleased with it, and had taken the Liberty to censure it, but the Pope said, they were to blame. The Duke *d'Estres* did not name the two Car-

finals, tho he said he believed he knew who they were: and it is very like that Cardinal *Jo* was one, for I was told that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the *French* King is to be so much blamed in this matter as his Religion is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith to them: so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to dewest himself of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requireth it. Or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the Principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the extremities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all the World must needs see is done against their Consciences: and this being the only end of their Miseries, those that would think any sort of death a happy conclusion of their sufferings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious Issue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring deaths of which they see no end, to make Shipwrack of the Faith: This appearance of Mercy, in not putting men to death, doth truly verifie the Character that *Solomon* giveth of the Tender Mercies of the Wicked, that they are Cruel.

But I will stop here, tho it is not ease to retire from so copious a Subject, that as affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less Passion.

I past the Winter at *Geneva*, with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of *England*: tho that received great allaies from the most lamentable Stories that we had every day from *France*: but there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowledgments possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in any one particular: but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most, was of a more publick nature, before I left *Geneva*, the numbers of the English there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation. For we were twelve or fourteen, so I addressed my self to the Council of twenty five, for liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the English Liturgy. This was immediatly granted in so obliging a manner, that there was not one Person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church they would grant us one: which had been done in Q. *Mary*'s Reign: but

but till then we might hold our Assemblies as we thought fit. So after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every *Sunday* our Devotions according to the Common-Prayer Morning and Evening: and at the Evening-Prayer I preach'd in a Room that was indeed too large for our small Company, but there being a considerable number in *Geneva* that understand English, and in particular some of the Professors and Ministers, we had a great many Strangers that met with us: and the last *Sunday* I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of *England*, and upon this occasion I found a general joy in the Town, for this that I had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church, and as in their Publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of *Great Britain*, as well as for the King, so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions, and they spoke of the unhappy Divisions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies with great regret and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their Professours that as they are Men of great distinction, so they were the Persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr. *Turretin*, a man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and wasted his Strength; amidst all the affluence

of

of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance or rather beyond it: and there is in him such a melting zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of Piety and Devotion which shews it self both in private Conversation and in his most edifying Sermons by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digested: his Conversation has an engaging Charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a man of extraordinary Vertue and of a readiness to oblige and serve all Persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a sublimity in them that strikes the Hearer as well as it edifies him. His thought are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it tempered with all the softness of perswasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left *Geneva* with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Isle of *Britain*.

From *Geneva*, I went a second time through

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Switzerland to *Basil*: at *Avanche* I saw the Noble Fragments of a great *Roman* Work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple: the Heads of the Pillars are about four foot Square of the *Ionick* Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune* or some Sea-God; for on the Fragments of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are Dolphins and Sea-Horses in Bas-reliefs; and the Neighbourhood of the place to the Lakes of *Iverdum* and *Morat* maketh this more evident: there is also a Pillar standing up in its full heigth, or rather the corner of a building, in which one seeth the Rests of a regular Artitecture in two Ranks of Pillars: If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more Rests of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the bones of the *Burgundians* that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this place was besieged by the famous *Charls* Duke of *Burgundy*, who lost a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged; the Inscription is very extraordinary, especially for that Age: for the bones being so piled up that the Chappel is quite filled with them: the Inscription bears that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy's* Army having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat* to Imagine how it was possible for a Town so situated, and so

slight-

ſlightly fortified, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a Prince and ſo great an Army that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Baſil*, except that I ſtaid ſome time at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this ſecond time it was, that my Lord Advoyer *d' Erlach* gave order to ſhew me the Original Records of the famous Proceſs of the four *Dominicans*; upon which I have retouch't the Letter that I writ to you laſt year, ſo that I now ſend it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this ſecond ſtay at *Bern* gave me occaſion to make.

Baſil is the Town of the greateſt extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a crook before it: and the Town is ſituated on a riſing ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looketh like a Theater. Little *Baſil* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, is almoſt a fourth part of the whole: the Town is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is ſo expoſed on ſo many ſides, and hath now ſo dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of *Huning*, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanly ſpeaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better Peopled than it is, the advantages of the Burgerſhip are ſuch, that the Citizens will not ſhare them with Strangers, and by this

this means they do not admit them. For I vvas told that during the last War, that *Alsatia* vvas so often the seat of both Armies, *Basil* having then a neutrality, it might have been vvell filled, if it had not been for this Maxim: and it vvere a great happiness to all the Cantons, if they could have different degrees of Burgership, so that the lovver degrees might be given to strangers for their incouragement to come and live among them: and the higher degrees vvhich qualifie men for the advantagious Employments of the State, might be reserved for the ancient Families of the Natives. *Basil* is divided into sixteen Companies, and every one of these hath four Members in the little Council, so that it consisteth of sixty four: But of those four, tvvo are chosen by the Company it self, vvho are called the Masters, and the other tvvo are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus as there are tvvo sorts of Councellors, chosen in those different manners, there are also tvvo chief Magistrates. There are tvvo Burgermasters that Reign by turns, and tvvo Zunft-Masters that have also their turns, and all is for life: and the last are the heads of the Companies, like the *Roman* Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the State-House is ancient: there is very good Painting in fresco upon the Walls: one piece hath given much offence to the Papists, tho they have no reason to blame the Reformation for it: since it

vvas

was done several years before it, in the Year 1510. It is a Representation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell, among these there is a Pope, and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is believed that the Council which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, ingaged the Town into such a hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the Clocks anticipating the time a full Hour, to the sitting of the Council, and they say that in order to the advancing of Business, and the shorting their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set forward an Hour: which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old *Gothick* Building; the Chamber where the Council sate, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus*'s Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great Brass Plate: There are many of *Holbein*'s Pictures here, who was a Native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to King *Henry* the *VIII*. the two best are a *Corpo*, or *Christ dead*, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World: There is another piece of his in the State-House, for this is in the publick Library, of about three or four Foot square; in which, in six several Cantons, the several parts of our Saviours

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Paſſion are repreſented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten Thouſand Crowns; it is on Wood, but hath that freſhneſs of Colour ſtill on it, that ſeems peculiar to *Holben*'s Pencil. There is alſo a Dance that he painted on the Walls of an Houſe where he uſed to drink, that is ſo worn out that very little is now to be ſeen, except Shapes and Poſtures; but theſe ſhew the exquiſiteneſs of the Hand. There is another longer Dance that runneth all along the ſide of the Convent of the *Auguſtinians*, which is now the French Church, which is Deaths Dance; there are above threeſcore Figures in it at full length of Perſons of all Rancks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneſt ſorts of People, and of all Ages and Profeſſions, to whom Death appeareth in an inſolent and ſurprizing Poſture, and the ſeveral Paſſions that they expreſs are ſo well ſet out, that this was certainly a great deſign. But the Freſco being expoſed to the Air, this was ſo worn out ſome time ago, that they ordered the beſt Painter they had to lay new Colours on it, but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead ſhadows of *Holben's* Pencil, than this Courſe work. There is in *Baſil* a Gun-Smith that maketh Wind Guns, and he ſhewed me one that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own invention, that he can diſcharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot at once, to give a home

blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible inſtruments, and it ſeems the Intereſt of Mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be imploied to aſſaſſinate perſons ſo dextrouſly, that neither noiſe nor fire will diſcover from what hand the ſhot cometh. The Library of *Bazil* is, by much the beſt in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine Collection of Meddals in it, and a very handſome Library of Manuſcripts; the Room is noble, and diſpoſed in a very good method. Their Manuſcripts are chiefly the Latine Fathers, or Latine Tranſlations of the Greek Fathers, ſome good Bibles, they have the Goſpels in Greek Capitals, but they are vitiouſly writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without number. All the Books that were in the ſeveral Monaſteries at the time of the Reformation were carefully preſerved: and they believe that the Biſhops who ſate here in the Councel, brought with them a great many Manuſcripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuſcripts I ſaw four of *Huſs*'s Letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before his death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The Manuſcripts of this Library are far more numerous then thoſe of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarſius*, and left by him in the publick Library there: they are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that ever I ſaw: But it is a Noble collection of all the ancient Latine Au-

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thors, they have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in *Basil* one of the best Collections of Medals that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble Library, in which there are Manuscripts of good antiquity that belongs to the Family of *Fesch*, and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another: for this Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In *Basil* as the several Companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, so they retain their Priviledges to this day. For in such Companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their interest. But some Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade, so that they retain their interest still in Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one, so that there are alwaies four Butchers in the Councel. The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary Occasions, when the little Councel thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six Baliages that belong to *Basil* which

are not imployments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the Baili only a thousand livres a year: They reckon that there are in *Bazil* three thousand men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning stirring there, then I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in *Bazil* and the garb both of the Councellers, Ministers and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is August: The appointments are but small, for Councellers, Ministers and Professors have but a hundred Crowns a peice: It is true many Ministers are Professors so this mendeth the matter a little: but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the number of Professors, and if those were a little better incouraged. No where is the rule of St. *Paul* [of Womens having on their Heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which by a Phrase that is not extraordinary he calleth power] better observed then at *Bazil*; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their eyes, so another folding covereth also their Mouth and Chin, so that

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nothing but the noſe appears, and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies white, ſo that there is there ſuch a ſight of white heads in their Churches as cannot be found any where elſe: The unmarried Women wear hats turned up in their brims before and behind: and the brims of the ſides being about a foot broad, ſtand out far on both hands: This Faſhion is alſo at *Strasburg*, and is worn there alſo by the married Women.

I mentioned formerly the conſtant danger to which this place is expoſed from the neighborhood of *Huningh*, I was told that at firſt it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a ſmall Fort there, and it was believed that one of the Burgomaſters of *Bazil*, who was thought not only the wiſeſt man of that Canton, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all men aſleep, and to aſſure them that the ſuffering this Fort to be built ſo near them, was of no importance to them, but now they ſee too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garriſon of three or four thouſand Men; it is a Pentagone, only the ſide to the *Rhine* is ſo large, that if it went round on that ſide, *I* believe it muſt have been a Hexagone; the *Baſtions* have all Orillons, and in the middle of them there is a void ſpace, not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built ſo thick in the Vault that it is proof againſt *Bombs*; The Ramparts

are ſtrongly faced, there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortine, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence: before this Horn-work there is a half Moon, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Half-Moon in an Angle, and maketh one half Moon within another: Beyond that there is a Counterſcarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a covered way, and a glacy deſigned, tho' not executed. There is alſo a great Horn-work beſides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards *Baſil*; there is alſo a Bridge laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an Iſland in the River, where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortifieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thouſand Men; the works are not yet quite finiſhed, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Europe*: There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Baſtions, and there are half Moons before the Baſtions, ſo that the Switzers ſee their danger now, when it is not eaſie to redreſs it. This Place is ſcituated in a great Plain, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing ground on any ſide of it. I made a little Turn into *Alſace*, as far as *Mountpelliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been

been ſo long a Frontier Country; and is, by Conſequence, ſo ill Peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one reſpect it is fit to be the ſeat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the ſides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which ſaves much Money) ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them. The River of the *Rhine*, all from *Baſil* to *Spire*, is ſo low, and is on both ſides ſo covered with Woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no ſight of the Country: The River runneth ſometimes with ſuch a force, that nothing but ſuch woods could preſerve its Banks, and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite, for the Trees are often waſhed away by the very Roots, ſo that in many places thoſe Trees lye along in the Channel of the River: It hath been alſo thought a ſort of a Fortification to both ſides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the paſſing of Men dangerous, when they muſt march for ſome time after their Paſſage through a *defilé*. The firſt Night from *Bazil* we came to *Briſac*, which is a poor and miſerable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the Weſt-ſide of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Baſtions. The Town of *Briſac* riſeth all on a Hill, which is a conſiderable heighth; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification. and the o-

ther is ſo well levelled with the ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many miles is plain, ſo that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the help of a Proſpect, all the motions of an Enemy in caſe of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compaſs, above a French league, indeed almoſt a German league; the baſtions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them, the Counterſcarp, the covered Way, which hath a Palliſade within the Parapet, and the Glacy, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the baſtions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are ſo diſpoſed that a good part of them defendeth the baſtion. The Garriſon of this place in time of War muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand men; there hath not been much done of late to this place only the Ditch is ſo adjuſted that it is all defended by the flanks of the baſtions. But the nobleſt place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburg*: it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it: the inner Wall is old and of no ſtrength, nor is the outward Wall very good, it hath a fauſſebraye, and is faced with brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counterſcarp is in an ill condition, ſo that the Town was not in caſe to make any long reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that ſide that goeth towards

wards the Rhine, that is much ſuch a Fort as that of *Huningh*, and on the ſide of the Cittadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great way with out-works belonging to it; there are alſo ſmall Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alſace*, by which the City is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in caſe of a Revolt: the Bridge is alſo well fortified: there are alſo Forts in ſome Iſlands in the *Rhine*, and ſome Redoubts: ſo that all round this Place there is one of the greateſt Fortifications that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to Religion hath been well kept, and there is ſo ſmall a number of new Converts, and theſe are for the greateſt Part ſo Inconſiderable, they not being in all above two Hundred as I was told, that if they do not imploy the new faſhioned Miſſionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are not like to have ſo great Harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, though they are Jeſuits. The *Lutherans* for the greateſt part retain their Animoſities almoſt to an equal degree both againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. I was in their Church, where if the Muſick of their Pſalms pleaſed me much, the Irreverence in Singing, it being free to keep on, or put off the Hat, did appear very ſtrange to me: The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paſſages of our Saviours Life are repreſented: but there is no ſort of Religious reſpect payed them, they bow when they name the Holy Ghoſt, as well as at the Name of Je-

ſus: but they have not the Ceremonies that the Lutherans of *Saxony* uſe, which Mr. *Bebel*, their Profeſſor of Divinity, ſaid was a great Happineſs, for a Similitude in outward Rite might diſpoſe the ignorant people to change too eaſily. I found ſeveral good People both of the Lutheran Miniſters and others, acknowledg that there was ſuch a Corruption of Morals ſpread over the whole City, that as they had juſtly drawn down on their Heads the plague of the loſs of their Liberty, ſo this having toucht them ſo little they had reaſon to look for ſeverer ſtrokes: One ſeeth, in the ruine of this City, what a miſchievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themſelves, and ſo they refuſed to let an Imperial Garriſon come within their Town: for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that ſmall number would not have been able to have oppreſt their Liberties, ſo it would have ſo ſecured the Town that the French could not have beſieged it, without making War on the Empire: but the Town thought this was a diminution of their Freedom, and ſo choſe rather to pay a Garriſon of three thouſand Soldiers, which as it exhauſted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, ſo it proved too weak for their defence when the French Army came before them. The Town begins to ſink in its Trade, notwithſtanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it: but when that is at an End, it will ſink more ſenſibly, for it

it is impoſſible for a place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten Thouſand Souldiers in it, to continue long in a Flouriſhing State. There was a great animoſity between two of the chief Families of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*, the former was the Burgo maſter, and was once almoſt run down by a Faction that the other had raiſed againſt him: but he turned the Tide, and got ſuch an advantage againſt *Obrecht*, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels againſt the Government. His Son is a Learned Man, and was Profeſſor of the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of revenge againk *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* laſt Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French Faction, tho he had been at firſt an Imperialiſt, ſo it was thought that he ſhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected that to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his Religion, but he was an ancient Man, and would not purchaſe his Court at that rate: ſo without any Reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of *France*, as I remember it was *Limoſin*; and thus he that hath been thought the chief cauſe of this Towns falling under the Power of the French, is the firſt Man that hath felt the Effects of it. The Liberary here is conſiderable, The Caſe is a great

great Room very well contrived, for it is divided into Closets all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery, and in these Closets all round, there are the Books of the several Professions lodged apart: There is one for Manuscripts in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say nothing to you of the vast heighth, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is so vast a variety of Motions, for these are well known. The Bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing, for this being a Fabrick of three or four Hundred Years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession; there is also an Ass standing before an Altar, as if he were going to Consecrate, and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox, and the trains of all that go in this Procession, are carried up by Monkies. This seems to have been made in hatred of the Monks whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the Secular Clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after some Ages, the Monks falling under the same contempt, the

the Secular Clergy took their turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a Repreſentation to the ſcorn of the World. There is alſo in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying along, and a Friar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nuns habit, and the Nuns feet are ſhod with Iron Shoos. I confeſs I did not look for theſe things, for I had not heard of them, but my Noble Friend, Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactneſs, while he was the *French* Kings Reſident at *Straſburg*, in the Company of one of the Magiſtrates that waited on him; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Particular.

From *Straſburg* we went down to the *Rhine* to *Phillipsburg*, which lieth at a quarter of a Miles diſtance from the River, it is but a ſmall Place, the Baſtions are but little: There is a Ravelline before almoſt all the Cortines, and there lye ſuch Marſhes all round it, that in theſe lieth the chief ſtrength of the Place, The *French* had begun a great Crown work on the ſide that lieth to the *Rhine*, and had caſt out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue that Crown-work quite round the Town, and to make a ſecond Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the Place vaſtly, and made a Compaſs capable enough to lodge above ten Thouſand Men: and this would have been

been ſo terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate* and all *Franconia* that it was a Maſter-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire into this Siege. He ſaw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the *French*, ſo that he took great Care to have the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Camp ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the leaſt uneaſineſs all the while. From thence in three hours time we came to *Spire*, which is ſo naked a Town that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt reſiſtance. The Town is neither great nor Rich, and ſubſiſteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that ſitteth here, tho' there is a conſtant diſpute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges; for the Government of the Town, pretends that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Priſon: On the other Hand the Judges pretended that their Perſons are Sacred. It was the Conſideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the laſt War. I thought to have ſeen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preſerving their Records, but the Court was not then ſitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look liker the Halls of ſome ſmall Com-

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pany, than of ſo great a Body; and I could not ſee the places where they lay up their Archives: The Government of the City is all *Lutheran*, but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Biſhop and Chapter, but there are likewiſe ſeveral Convents of both Sexes, and the Jeſuites have alſo a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the Gothick manner of the worſt ſort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lye Buried there, are remarkable for their meaneſs; they being only great Flag-ſtones layed on ſome ſmall Stone Balliſters of a Foot and a half high, there are alſo the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. *Bernard*, which is too fooliſh to be related, yet ſince they have taken ſuch Pains to preſerve the remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to writ it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round Plates of Braſs, above a foot Diameter, and at the Diſtance of thirty Foot one from another; laid in the Pavement, on the firſt of theſe is Engraven: *O Clemens*; on the ſecond, *O Pia*, on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The laſt is about thirty Foot diſtant from a Statue of the Virgins: ſo they ſay that St. *Bernard* came up the whole length of the Church at four Steps, and that thoſe four Plates were laid where he ſtept; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is Engraven on the Plate, and when

he came to the laſt, the Image of the Virgin anſwered him. *Salve Bernarde*: upon which he anſwered, *let a Woman keep ſilence in the Church*, and that the Virgins Statue has kept ſilence ever ſince, this laſt part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a man of Learning that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely if that was firmly believed there, he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jeſuit: he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, ſo I was ſatisfied. There is in the Cloiſter an old Gothick repreſentation of our Saviours Agony in ſtone, with a great many Figures of his Apoſtles, and the Company that came to ſeize him, that is not ill Sculpture, for the Age in which it was made, it being ſome Ages old. The Calviniſts have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not conſiderable: I was told there were ſome ancient Manuſcripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addreſſed my ſelf, being according to the *German* cuſtom, a man of greater quality then learning, told me he heard they had ſome ancient Manuſcripts, but he knew nothing of it, and the Dean was abſent, ſo I could not ſee them, for he kept one of the keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the ſweeteſt Countries of all

all *Germany*: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg*: the Town is ill ſcituated, juſt in a bottom between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended: I need ſay nothing of the Caſtle, nor the prodigious Wine Cellar, in which, tho there is but one celebrated Tun that is ſeventeen foot high, and twenty ſix foot long, and is built with a ſtrength liker that of the Ribs of a Ship, then the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary if this vaſt one did not Eclipſ them. The late Prince *Charles Lewis* ſhewed his capacity in the peopling and ſetling this State, that had been ſo intirely ruined, being for many years the Seat of War, for in four years time he brought it to a Flouriſhing condition: He raiſed the Taxes as high as was poſſible without diſpeopling his Country, all mens Eſtates were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent.* of the value of their Eſtates; but their Eſtates were not valued to the rigour, but with ſuch abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of Subſidies; ſo that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two *per cent* of the real value; the Subjects all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more abſolute then the Elector Palatine, for he laieth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaſeth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And

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here I ſaw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of *Germany* are only bound to their particular Prince, for they ſwear Allegiance ſimply to the Elector without any reſerve for the Emperor, and in their Prayers for him they name him their Soveraign. It is true, the Prince is under ſome ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this D. *Fabritius*, a learned and judicious Profeſſor there, explained thoſe words of *Pareus*'s Commentary on the *Romans*, which had reſpect only to the Princes of the Empire: and were quite miſ-underſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with relation to thoſe ſmall Controverſies that have occaſioned ſuch Heat in the Proteſtant Churches, reigning in the Univerſity there, which is in a great Meaſure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of D. *Fabritius*, and D. *Mick*; who as they were long in *England*, ſo they have that generous largeneſs of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the Engliſh Divines. Prince *Charles Lewis* ſaw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the moſt important Place of all his Territory, it being Scituated in the Point where *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; ſo that that thoſe two Rivers defending it on two ſides: it was capable of a good Fortification: It is true, the Air is not thought wholſome; and

and the Water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Cittadel with a regular Fortification about it, and he deſigned a great Palace there, but he did not live to Build it. He ſaw of what advantage Liberty of Conſcience was to the Peopling of his Country, ſo as he ſuffered the *Jews* to come and ſettle there, he reſolved alſo not only to ſuffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be profeſſed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans*, and *Papiſts* had, in the order in which I have ſet them down, the Exerciſe of their Religion, and he maintained the Peace of his Principality ſo entirely, that there was not the leaſt diſorder occaſioned by this Tolleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much conſider Religion himſelf: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Miniſter, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjuſt if I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat to you of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the preſent Pr. Elector upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of ſo many Princes that in this Age compoſed the moſt numerous Family of any of that Rank in *Europe*. This Prince as he is in many Reſpects an Honour to the Religion that he Profeſſes, ſo is in nothing more to be commended by thoſe who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promiſes

miſes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion, in which he has not even in the ſmalleſt Matters, broke in upon their eſtabliſhed Laws, and tho' an order of Men, that have turned the World upſide down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry it ſo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed Religion; and ſo thoſe ſacred Promiſes that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World that he does not conſider thoſe as ſo many Words ſpoken at firſt to lay his People aſleep; which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit; but as ſo many ties upon his Conſcience and Honour, which he will religiouſly obſerve. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has ſet a noble Pattern to all the Princes of *Europe*, ſo his Exactneſs to his Promiſes, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary Inſtance has been Communicated to me ſince I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Proceſſion in his Court laſt *Corpus Chriſti* Day, upon which one of the Miniſters of *Heidelberg* preached a very ſevere Sermon againſt Popery, and in particular, taxed that Proceſſion perhaps with greater plainneſs than diſcretion: This being brought to the Electors Ears, he ſent preſently an Order to the Eccleſiaſtical Senate to ſuſpend him. That Court is compoſed of ſome Secular Men, and ſome Churchmen and as the Princes Authority is dilegated to them, ſo they have a ſort of an Epiſcopal Juriſdiction

diction over all the Clergy. This order was a ſurprize to them, as being a direct breach upon their Laws, and the liberty of their Religion: ſo they ſent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reaſons that hindred them from obeying his Orders, which were heard with ſo much Juſtice and Gentleneſs that their Prince, inſtead of expreſſing any diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the order that he had ſent them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the firſt twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifulleſt piece of Ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little Hills, that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the Eye can go, there is a Beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all ſweetly divided and encloſed with rows of Trees, ſo that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy*: but the Hills as they made a pleaſant inequality in the Proſpect, ſo they made the Air purer, and produced a pleaſant Wine: The way near *Darmſtat* and all forwards to *Franckfort*, becometh more wild and more Sandy: There is a good Suburb on the South-ſide of the Main, over againſt *Frankfort*, which hath a very conſiderable Fortification; there is a double Wall, and double Ditch that goeth round it, and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, ſo it is faced with Brick to a conſiderable heighth. The Town of *Frankfort* is of a great Extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third Part leſs than *Strasburg*:

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The three Religions are also tolerated there; and tho' the number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have also several other Churches, and some Convents there. There are several open Squares for Market-places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in High *Dutch*, without any Beauty answering to its Title: and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it, for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called St. *Katherins*, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church, and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church: The Pulpit is extream fine of Marble of different Colours very well polished and joined: I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing, but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasburg*, and here, that at the end of Prayers, there was a considerable Interval of Silence left, before the Conclusion, for all Peoples private Devotions. In the House of their publick Discipline, they retain still the old Roman Piltrina or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Milstone go. There is a great number of *Jews* there

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tho their two Synagogues are very little, and by conſequence the numbers being great, they are very naſty. I was told they were in all above twelve Hundred. The Women had the moſt of a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I ſaw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a Border above a Hand breadth of Imbroidery. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is conſiderable, their Ditch is very Broad, and very full of Water; all the Baſtions have a Countermine that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the Counterſcarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and ſo in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacy are alſo in an ill caſe: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleaſantly ſcituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam* that yieldeth the beſt Wine of thoſe parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not paſs by *Worms*, for which I was ſorry. I had a great mind to ſee that place where *Luther* made his firſt appearance before the Emperor, and the Diet, and in that ſolemn audience expreſſed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious cauſe in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed Inſtrument. I had another piece of curioſity on me which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to ſee a Picture that as *I* was told is over one of the Popiſh Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of

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Transubstantiation to make it appear ridiculous, there is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which some Priests take up to give the People. This is so course an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*, but a Man that can swallow Transubstantiation it self, will digest this likewise. *Ments* is very nobly Scituated on a rising Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; It is of too great a Compass, and too ill Peopled to be capable of a great Defence: There is a Cittadel upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is Compassed about with a dry Ditch, that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly Fortified, but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick, so all is in a sad Condition; and the Fortification is weakest on that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the Gothick manner. It is of a great Length, and the design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very Magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the *Rhine*; from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red Stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of *Mentz* is an absolute Prince: His Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them

them, and may name whom he will: The Ancient Demeasne of the Electorat is about forty Thousand Crowns: But the Taxes rise to about three hundred Thousand Crowns: so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*, There is twelve Thousand Crowns a year given the Elector for his Privy Purse, and the State bears the rest of his whole expence: It can Arm ten Thousand Men, and there is a Garrison of two Thousand Men in *Mentz*: This Elector hath three Councels, one as he is Chancellour of the Empire, consisting of three Persons: The other two are for the Policy and Justice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have Months by turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the month of *January* he names if any dies, and they choose in the Room of such as die in *February*, and so all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thousand Crowns a year apiece. When the Elector dieth, the Emperour sendeth one to see the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Cannons may chuse whom they please; and the present Elector was not of the Emperours recommendation. Besides the Palace at *Mentz*, the Elector hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany*; The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building; there is a great *Cupulo* in the West-end, and there the Quire singeth Mass: I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of

greater reception than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great *Antiquity*, and on the *North* Door there are two great Brass gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperour *Lotharius*'s time. There are a vast Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill Inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Buccharach* (which seems to carry its Name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some Famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good Wine that grows in the neighbourhood.) There is a great Number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly believe the story of the Rats eating up an Elector, and that tho he Fled to this *Island* where he Built a small high Tower, they pursued him still, and eat him up: and they told us that there was some of his Bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary Death make me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of Death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few days before I left *Geneva*. The foot of one of his Cattel, as he was Ploughing, went into a nest of Wasps, upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the Poison of so many stings. But to return to the *Rhine*, all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish Wine: They are indeed as well exposed to to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be Imagined: and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of considerable Villages. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the scituation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterscrap

Counterſcarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition, both Walls and Counterſcarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelines before the Cortines; but on the ſide of the *Moſelle* it is very ſlightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the ſtone Bridge that is laid over the *Moſelle*, ſo that it lieth quite open on that ſide, which ſeemeth a ſtrange defect in a place of that Conſequence: But tho the Fortifications of this place are very conſiderable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of *Hermanſtan*, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, and which commandeth this place ſo abſolutely, that he who is Maſter of *Hermanſtan*, is always Maſter of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the Elector of *Triers*, whoſe Palace lieth on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Rhine*, juſt at the foot of the Hill of *Hermanſtan*, and over againſt the point where the *Moſelle* falleth into the *Rhine*, ſo that nothing can be more pleaſantly ſituated; only the ground begins to riſe juſt at the back of the Houſe with ſo much ſteepneſs that there is not Room for Gardens or walks. The Houſe maketh a great ſhew upon the River, but we were told that the Apartments within were not anſwerable to the outſide. I ſay we were told, for the German Princes keep ſuch forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unleſs it be when they are abroad themſelves; ſo that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanſtan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the Elector of *Collen* keepeth his Court; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterſcarp is in ſo ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the Nobleſt born, and the beſt provided of all the German Clergy, for he is Brother to the great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*; and beſides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munſter*, and *Hidelſheim*, which are all great *Biſtopricks*: He hath been alſo ſix and thirty years in the Electorate: His Palace is very mean, conſiſting but of one Court, the half of which is caſt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a ſtable: but he hath made an appartment here that is all furniſhed with Pictures: where, as there are ſome of the hands of the greateſt Maſters, ſo there are

a great many foils to ſet theſe off; that are ſcarce good enough for Sign-poſts.

The Elector has a great many gold Medalls which will give me occaſion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was; which happened to be found out at the laſt ſiege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they diſcovered a vault in which there was an Iron Cheſt that was full of Medalls of Gold to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800 Ducats, and the Gold was of fineneſs of Ducat gold: but tho they bore the Impreſſions of Roman Medalls or rather Medaillons they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was ſo courſely done that one muſt be extream ignorant in Medalls to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeemed true were of the late *Greek* Emperours. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a Man to make a forgery upon ſuch Mettal, and in ſo vaſt a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, eſpecially in an Age in which ſo much Gold was ten times the value of what is at preſent, for it is judged to have been done about four, or five hundred years ago.

The Prince went out a hunting while we were there with a very handſome Guard of about fourſcore Horſe, well mounted; ſo we ſaw the Palace, but were not ſuffered to ſee the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great ſilver Caſolette guilt, all ſet with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Compoſition of the Princes own making: His Officers alſo ſhewed us a Baſon and Ewer, which they ſaid were of Mercury fixed by the Prince himſelf; but they added that now for many years he wrought no more in his Laboratory. I did not eaſily believe this, and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-Silver, ſo the Medicinal Vertues of fixed Mercury, if there is any ſuch thing, are ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the beſt Garden of thoſe parts of *Germany*, is to be ſeen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works, and very many Noble Allies in the French manner, and the whole it of a very

very considerable extent; but as it hath no ſtatues of any value to adorn it, ſo the Houſe about which it lieth in is in ruins: and it is ſtrange to ſee that ſo rich and ſo great a Prince, during ſo long a Regence, hath done ſo little to inlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and ſmall Towns. *Collen* is three Hours diſtant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worſe peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are all in an ill caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortifie ſo vaſt a compaſs as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other ſide of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay conſiderably. There is no exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion ſuffered within the Town; but thoſe of the Religion are ſuffered to live there; and they have a Church at two Miles diſtance. The Arſenal here, is ſuitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furniſhed. The Quire of the great Church is as high in the roof, as any Church I ever ſaw: but it ſeemeth the Wealth of this place could not finiſh the whole Fabrick, ſo as to anſwer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe Legends, have enough here to overſet even a good degree of credulity, both in the ſtory of the three Kings, whoſe Chappel is viſited with great devotion, and ſtandeth at the Eaſt end of the great Quire: and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thouſand Urſulins, whoſe Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of vaſt number of *Bones* that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: Theſe Fables are ſo firmly believed by the Papiſts there, that the leaſt ſign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, paſſeth for an infallible mark of an Heretick. The Jeſuites have a great and noble Colledge and Church here. And for *Thauler's* ſake I went to the *Dominicans* Houſe and Church, which is alſo very great. One grows extreamly weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The preſent ſubject of their diſcourſe is alſo very melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is ſo generally known, that I need not ſay much concerning it. A report was ſet about the Town, by ſome Incendiaries, that the

Magiſtrates

Magistrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports, for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some foundation: It is a certain this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occationed by it: The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and *Diet* to Judge the matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial *Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the Magistrates again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable Town below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the Duke of *Juliers*, who is Duke of *Newburg*, eldest Son to the present Elector *Palatine*. The Palace is old and Gothick enough: but the Jesuits have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chappel, tho there are manifest faults in the Architecture: the Protestant Religion is tolerated and they have a Church lately built here within these few years, that was procured by the Intercession of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who observing exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favor of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But *Keiserswart* some hours lower on the same side which belongeth to the Elector of *Collen*, tho it is a much worse Town then *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad Ditch and a very regular Fortification: the Walls are considerably High faced with Brick and so is the Counterscarp which is also in a very good condition. The Fortification of *Orsoy* is now quite demolished. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the Fortification is a very mean, only of Earth, so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And *Wesel*, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a poor

poor Fortification, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt expence: for the ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Piloty*. In all theſe Towns one ſees an other air of Wealth and abundance then in much Richer Countries that are exhauſted with taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at preſent very little defence, except what it hath from its ſcituation. *Cleve* is a delicious place, the ſcituation and proſpect are charming, and the Air is a very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not ſay one word of the Countrey into which I am now come, for as I know that is needleſs to you on many accounts, ſo a Picture that I ſee here in the Stadthouſe, puts me in mind of the perfecteſt Book of its kind that is perhaps in being, for Sir William *Temple*, whoſe Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries, that negotiated the famous Treaty of *Nimmegen*, hath indeed been a pattern to the World, which is done with ſuch life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it, ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the leaſt, but yet one of the Nobleſt parcels of the Univerſe, Travelling would become a needleſs thing, unleſs it were for diverſion: ſince one findeth no further occaſion for his curioſity in this Country, than what is fully ſatisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the reſiſtance that this place made, when ſo many other places were ſo baſely delivered up, tho one doth not ſee in the ruines of the Fortification here, how it could make ſo long a reſiſtance: yet it was that that ſtem'd tide of a progreſs that made all the World ſtand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themſelves out of the conſternation, into which ſo many blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the World ſaw a change, that tho it had not had ſo much Influence given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with ſo much exceſs, that all the topicks of flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet

will appear to posterity one of the most surprising Scenes in History, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of *Cannæ*. When a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campagne, who had little or no Councel about him but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage, by his Education either for Literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many losses; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it; and the powerfullest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious army that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of the best Towns, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadfull to them; and to drown so great a part of their Soil for the preservation of the rest: and to complicate together all the miseries that a Nation can dread, when to the general consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost thirty years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great Paralitick Body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance: When I say a Young Prince came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite dampt an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the Publick Councils with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to Propositions for a Peace, that were as little safe as they were honourable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous Terms.

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His credit also among the populace seemed to Inspire them with a new life: they easily perswaded themselves that as one *WILLIAM* Prince of *ORANGE* had formed their State, so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breast, and Infused into the whole people, as well as into the Magistracy that preserved this Country. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again setled, and the people were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full authority for that time with Relation to peace and War, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer of the Soveraignty of its Chief City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established Laws and Liberties, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the Stage, with all the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was Visible that he had nothing to trust to, but a good cause, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was success wanting to such Noble beginnings; for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this State, out of so desperate a distemper, took some places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw Army had not alwaies success against more numerous and better trained Troops, and if the want of *Magazins* and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the Chief *Scene* of the War, made that he could not post his Army, and wait for favourable Circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to action, with a haste that his necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings

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of a Victory out of the hands of the greateſt General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement, and in ſhort the forming the *Dutch* Army to ſuch a pitch that it became viſibly ſuperior to the *French*, that ſeemed to have been fed with Conqueſts: and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had ſacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to ſet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of ſome, and the jealouſies of other Princes: all theſe are ſuch performances that poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the *Idea's* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really tranſacted in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſuch a manner. And in concluſion every place that belonged to theſe States, and to their Neighbours along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being reſtored; theſe Provinces do now ſee themſelves under his happy Conduct, re-eſtabliſhed in their former peace and ſecurity. And tho ſome ſcars of ſuch deep wounds do ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Chriſtendom, againſt the fears of a new Monarchy, and as preſervers of the peace and liberty of *Europe*.

Here is a Harveſt, not for forced Rhetorick, or falſe Eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere *Hiſtorian*, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious Panegyricks of Mercenary pens: but a ſmall or a counterfeit Jewel muſt be ſet with all poſſible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be ſhewed: I cannot end with a greater ſubject, and I muſt acknowledge my ſelf to be ſo inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, ſo I dare not truſt my ſelf too long, to the heat that ſo Noble an Object inſpires, therefore I break off abruptly.

YOURS.

AD.

ADDENDA.

Ad page 210. *l.* 22.

The ſame learned perſon has ſince my firſt converſation with him upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to me two paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what names thoſe Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what ſort of perſons were laid in them, we have alſo the deſignation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the Repoſitories of which that Author makes mention, there was no care taken to preſerve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquiſſimum genus ſepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis ſepelirenter homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici ſolent, extra portam Eſquilinam: quos quod ibi putefacerent, inde prius appellatos exiſtimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuiſſe, ut patres-familiæ in locum publicum extra oppidum mancippia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putefacerent, nomen eſſe factum puticuli.* The other paſſage runs thus. *Veſpæ & Veſpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucribus, ſed quia veſpertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees ſo exactly to the thoughts that a general view of thoſe Re-

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positories give a Man, that it will not be hard to perswade him that those burying Places that are now graced with the Pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman* Slaves were layed, and so without any further Care about them, were left to rot.

Ad page 218. *l.* 1:

I have since my being in *Naples* instructed one that was going thither in this Particular, and have received this account from him, that he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar of *Caligula's* Bridge on the *Puzzollo* side: and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him that on the other side before *Baia*, the Water was 26 Fathom deep: but as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Waterman had assured him that the Water was ten fathom deep at the *Puzzolo* side, tho upon trial he found it was only seven and a half: and by this Measure one may suppose that the Water is 20 fathom deep on the other side: So that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of Water.

FINIS.